

In This Issue

Personalities

Aberhart of Alberta, 58.
Charles Lathrop Pack, 53.
Eleanor Roosevelt, 21.
George L. Berry, 27.
George M. Harrison, 60.
Governor Hoffman, 20.
J. J. Pelley, 60.
Jesse H. Jones, 63.
Joseph B. Eastman, 60.
Lamas of Argentina, 20.
Pres. Roosevelt, 17, 20, 22, 25.
Secretary Hull, 20.
Von Ribbentrop of Germany, 50.
W. P. Kenney, 64.

Politics

Borah's candidacy, 24, 27.
Opinion in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, 29.
Party platforms, 24.
Presidential primaries, 56.
Roosevelt's new party, 23, 25.

Business and Finance

American Tel. & Tel., 42.
Business indices, 72.
Corporation surplus tax, 40.
General Motors Corp., 71.
New York State taxes, 72.
Plastics industry, 36.
Profits and payrolls, 71.
Tax proposals, 22, 40.
U. S. Steel Corp., 42, 63, 71.
Westinghouse E. & M. Co., 71.

Labor

Compulsory unionism? 55.
Railroad wage costs, 58, 59.
Wages versus profits, 71.

Railroads

Continuing bonded debt, 62.
Early railroad days, 59.
Government operation, 62.
I.C.C. regulation, 60.
R.F.C. loans, 63.
Unionism, 58, 60.

National Affairs

AAA payments, 22, 59.
Automobile accidents, 80.
Labor laws and unionism, 55.
NRA ghost, 26, 56.
Relief policies, 23.
Townsend Plan, 24, 80.

International Affairs

A Germany in Russia, 50.
Ethiopian war, 46.
Naval conferences, 17.
Pan American conference, 19.
Press censorship, 21.
Rhineland remilitarized, 46.
Social insurance abroad, 49.
South Africa's exposition, 76.
Travel trends, 4.
War by bacteria, 51.

REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

MAY

Around the World	RAMBLER	4
The Literary Landscape	HERSCHEL BRICKELL	11
The Progress of the World	ALBERT SHAW	17
Roosevelt's New Party	RAYMOND CLAPPER	25
Politics—From New York to Ohio	SIX EDITORS	29
American Cartoons		33
Buttons to Buildings (Plastics)	HERBERT CHASE	36
Death Sentence for Thrift	JOSEPH STAGG LAWRENCE	40
Trends in the Quarterlies		44
So They Say		45
Behind the Foreign News	ROGER SHAW	46
Foreign Cartoons		47
March of Events (Abroad)		49
Bacteria in Warfare?	J. J. DE BARY	51
American Trees in Europe	OLIVE HYDE FOSTER	53
Will Unionism Become Compulsory?	LEO WOLMAN	55
March of Events (At Home)		56
Aberhart of Alberta		58
Strangling Our Railroads	ALBERT SHAW	59
New England Beckons	ROBERT HUSE	66
Pulse of Business		71
Distilled from the Trade	DUART MAC LEAN	73
The Editor's Mail		80

Cover Portraits: Joseph B. Eastman (© Harris & Ewing), Jesse Jones (Bachrach from Wide World), George M. Harrison (Wide World), John J. Pelley (© International News Photo).

Published by

The REVIEW OF REVIEWS Corporation

233 Fourth Ave., New York

ALBERT SHAW, Chairman of the Board; ALBERT SHAW, JR., President; J. M. HOPKINS, General Manager; HOWARD FLORENCE, Vice-President; ROGER SHAW, Secretary.
TERMS:—Monthly, 25 cents a number, \$3.00 a year, two years \$4.50. The REVIEW OF REVIEWS is on file in public libraries everywhere and is indexed in the Readers Guide to Periodical Literature. Title Registered U. S. Patent Office. COPYRIGHT, 1936. Entered as second-class matter April 27, 1934, at the post-office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3rd, 1879. Printed in the United States.

VOLUME XCIII NUMBER FIVE

In This Issue

Personalities

Aberhart of Alberta, 58.
Charles Lathrop Pack, 53.
Eleanor Roosevelt, 21.
George L. Berry, 27.
George M. Harrison, 60.
Governor Hoffman, 20.
J. J. Pelley, 60.
Jesse H. Jones, 63.
Joseph B. Eastman, 60.
Lamas of Argentina, 20.
Pres. Roosevelt, 17, 20, 22, 25.
Secretary Hull, 20.
Von Ribbentrop of Germany, 50.
W. P. Kenney, 64.

Politics

Borah's candidacy, 24, 27.
Opinion in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, 29.
Party platforms, 24.
Presidential primaries, 56.
Roosevelt's new party, 23, 25.

Business and Finance

American Tel. & Tel., 42.
Business indices, 72.
Corporation surplus tax, 40.
General Motors Corp., 71.
New York State taxes, 72.
Plastics industry, 36.
Profits and payrolls, 71.
Tax proposals, 22, 40.
U. S. Steel Corp., 42, 63, 71.
Westinghouse E. & M. Co., 71.

Labor

Compulsory unionism? 55.
Railroad wage costs, 58, 59.
Wages versus profits, 71.

Railroads

Continuing bonded debt, 62.
Early railroad days, 59.
Government operation, 62.
I.C.C. regulation, 60.
R.F.C. loans, 63.
Unionism, 58, 60.

National Affairs

AAA payments, 22, 59.
Automobile accidents, 80.
Labor laws and unionism, 55.
NRA ghost, 26, 56.
Relief policies, 23.
Townsend Plan, 24, 80.

International Affairs

A Germany in Russia, 50.
Ethiopian war, 46.
Naval conferences, 17.
Pan American conference, 19.
Press censorship, 21.
Rhineland remilitarized, 46.
Social insurance abroad, 49.
South Africa's exposition, 76.
Travel trends, 4.
War by bacteria, 51.

REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

MAY

Around the World	RAMBLER	4
The Literary Landscape	HERSCHEL BRICKELL	11
The Progress of the World	ALBERT SHAW	17
Roosevelt's New Party	RAYMOND CLAPPER	25
Politics—From New York to Ohio	SIX EDITORS	29
American Cartoons		33
Buttons to Buildings (Plastics)	HERBERT CHASE	36
Death Sentence for Thrift	JOSEPH STAGG LAWRENCE	40
Trends in the Quarterlies		44
So They Say		45
Behind the Foreign News	ROGER SHAW	46
Foreign Cartoons		47
March of Events (Abroad)		49
Bacteria in Warfare?	J. J. DE BARY	51
American Trees in Europe	OLIVE HYDE FOSTER	53
Will Unionism Become Compulsory?	LEO WOLMAN	55
March of Events (At Home)		56
Aberhart of Alberta		58
Strangling Our Railroads	ALBERT SHAW	59
New England Beckons	ROBERT HUSE	66
Pulse of Business		71
Distilled from the Trade	DUART MAC LEAN	73
The Editor's Mail		80

Cover Portraits: Joseph B. Eastman (© Harris & Ewing), Jesse Jones (Bachrach from Wide World), George M. Harrison (Wide World), John J. Pelley (© International News Photo).

Published by

The REVIEW OF REVIEWS Corporation

233 Fourth Ave., New York

ALBERT SHAW, Chairman of the Board; ALBERT SHAW, JR., President; J. M. HOPKINS, General Manager; HOWARD FLORENCE, Vice-President; ROGER SHAW, Secretary.

TERMS:—Monthly, 25 cents a number, \$3.00 a year, two years \$4.50. The REVIEW OF REVIEWS is on file in public libraries everywhere and is indexed in the Readers Guide to Periodical Literature. Title Registered U. S. Patent Office. COPYRIGHT, 1936. Entered as second-class matter April 27, 1934, at the post-office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3rd, 1879. Printed in the United States.

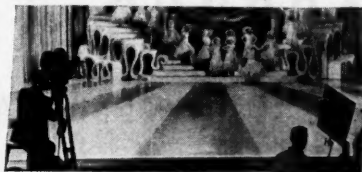
VOLUME XCIII NUMBER FIVE

"Sky and sails and flashing tuna,
Palms suggesting goona goona..."



MOUNTAINS:

Glaciers, rivers, verdant valleys,
Come to life from Rand-McNallies;
Cedars, trout-streams, puma, deer,
High adventure, calling clear.



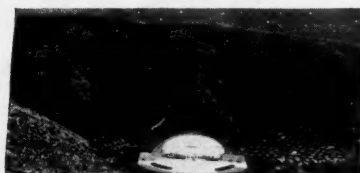
HOLLYWOOD:

Heroes, Neros, comics, heavies,
Beauties, cuties, pass in beavies;
Mummers, plumbers, sages, tots,
Bad-men, mad-men, throng the lots.



SPORT:

Sport on court, on links or heather,
Beckons, reckons without weather;
Land or strand or stream or pool,
Days are rainless, nights are cool.



AFTER DARK:

Night clubs, fight clubs, famous faces,
Wineries, fineries, pageants, races,
Singers, ringers, grottos, bars,
Symphonies beneath the stars.



MISCELLANEOUS:

Canyons, banyans, cherimoyas,
Flowers, towers, scenes like Goya's,
Schooners, crooners, fish that fly,
Cowboys, plow-boys, you and I.

MAIL COUPON TODAY

All-Year Club of Southern California,
Dept. S-K, 629 So. Hill St., Los Angeles, Calif.
Send me free book with complete details (in-
cluding costs) of a Southern California vacation.
Also send free routing by ☐ auto, ☐ rail, ☐ plane,
☐ bus, ☐ steamship. Also send free booklets about
counties checked: ☐ Los Angeles, ☐ Santa Bar-
bara, ☐ Riverside, ☐ Orange, ☐ Inyo, ☐ San
Diego, ☐ Ventura, ☐ San Bernardino, ☐ Kern,
☐ Imperial.

Name _____
Street _____
City _____
State _____

SEASHORE:

Sky and sails and flashing tuna,
Palms suggesting goona-goona,
Islands, highlands, surf and foam,
Sun-time, fun-time—why go home?

★

A 2-weeks vacation at low cost

THIS versified catalog gives a rough
idea of this summer's diversified fun in
and around Los Angeles County, hub of
the Southern California vacationland. We
would have included Pasadena, Long Beach,
Beverly Hills, Santa Monica, Pomona, Glen-
dale, and some other places, too, if we could
have got them to rhyme.

A couple of points more practical than

poetic: You can do it in a 2-weeks vacation,
with a choice of transportation methods.
And since you escape short-season "peak
prices," an ordinary budget is ample.

FREE: Automatic Trip Planner

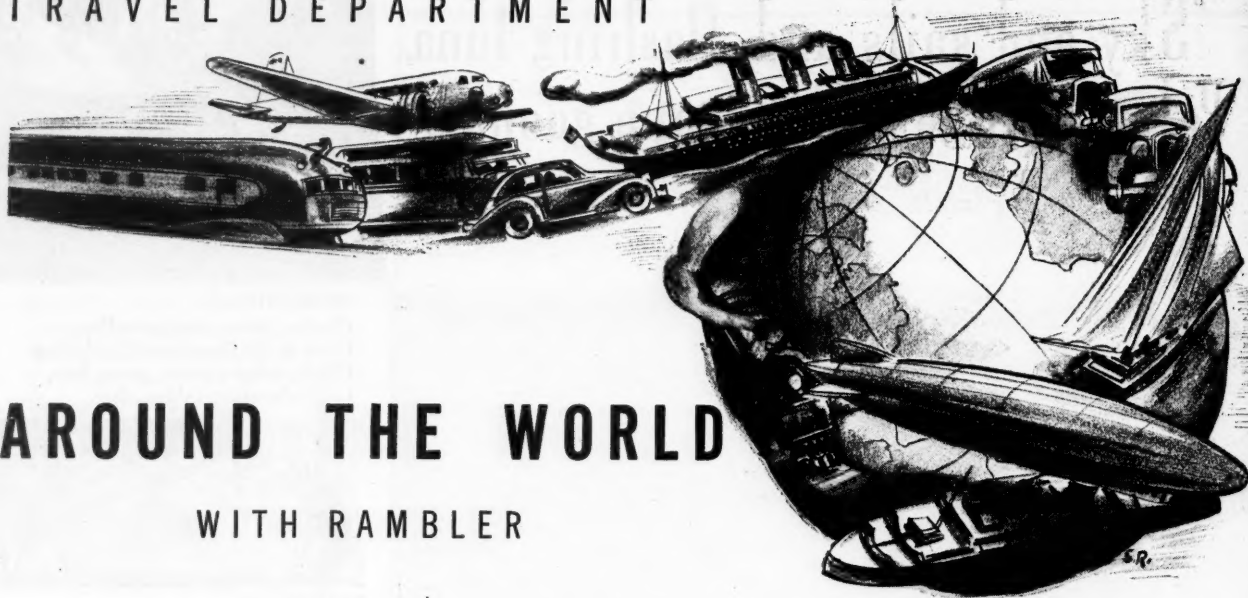
This 80-page Official Guide Book—wide-
ly acclaimed by travel experts—plans your
trip for you from start to finish: what to
see and do, time required, itemized cost
schedules, over 100 photographs, maps, etc.,
authentic facts not available elsewhere.

ALL-YEAR CLUB OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Come to California for a glorious vaca-
tion. Advise anyone not to come seeking
employment, lest he be disappointed; but
for the tourist, attractions are unlimited.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

TRAVEL DEPARTMENT



AROUND THE WORLD

WITH RAMBLER

WE CAN ONLY suppose that the wit who once remarked that there was "a little of the tar brush in all of us" must have been looking ahead to this modern era of travel—as applied, of course, to us pale-skinned kings of the earth.

Doesn't milady of Medicine Hat, Alta., wear a Tahitian pareo (those intriguing wrap-around pantie swimming things) as she suns herself on Florida's gleaming sands? Doesn't milord of Watch Hill, R. I., disport

himself on Waikiki beach in a masculine edition of Hollywood's scanties?

All of which means that the traveler of 1936 is setting the pace in "going native", finding, if only by the degree of shedding his "civilized" attire, an outlet for enthusiasm and enjoyment of the sunshine he seeks; yet not sensing that Travel is the medium through which he is finding such expression!

And Travel, after all, just doesn't mean chasing the Sun 'round the

equator. We've always loved to define Travel like this:

T for Thrills
R for Rest
A for Adventure
V for Variety
E for Education
L for Lure

Scramble those ingredients and what's the answer?

An avenue of escape . . . escape from the humdrumness of things . . . escape, if necessary, from one's self; that taut, pent-up self that longs to go native and enjoy life.

So—Let's "go native." Where? Just a minute . . . just a minute.

* * *

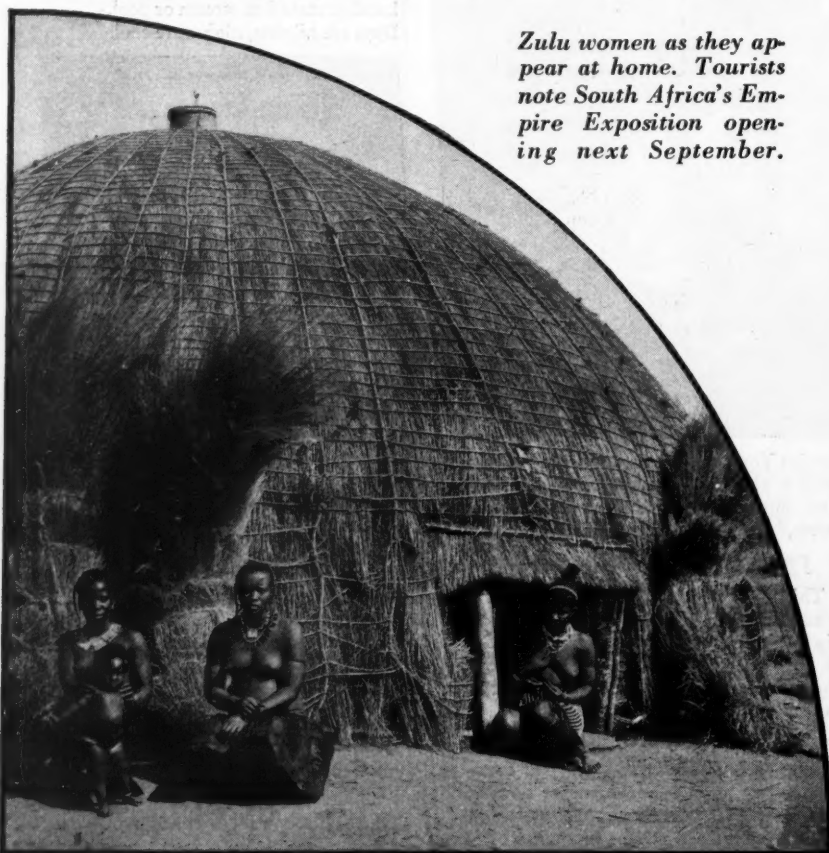
Changing Sands

BEFORE GOING overboard hither, thither, and yon, perhaps a few figures on present-day travel trends might not be amiss. We are bearing in mind that famous rule of thumb which states that there are "Lies, damn lies, and statistics". In this case, however, the statistics are vouched for by the U. S. Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce.

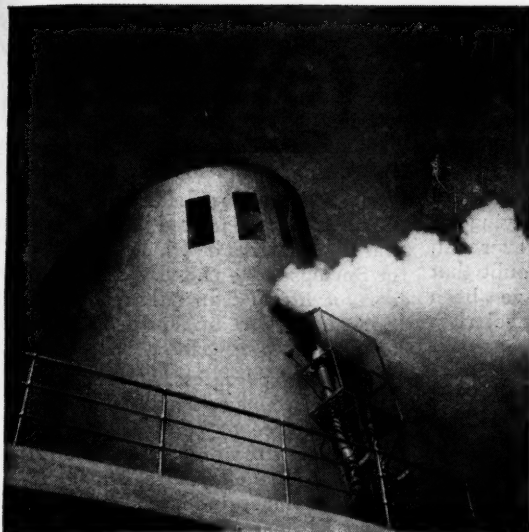
The years 1933 and 1934 (complete available figures) were compared by the Bureau and revealed an increase of 14 per cent in departures for areas outside Europe, which registered a 6 per cent drop. General travel showed an increase of 3 per cent; the Orient an increase of 21 per cent, South America an increase of 32 per cent, World Cruises gained 69 per cent and West Indies cruises increased 19 per cent.

Thus, with vouched-for statistics, it is easy to gather that South America

Zulu women as they appear at home. Tourists note South Africa's Empire Exposition opening next September.



Courtesy: South African Railways and Harbours



P R O M P T

Cherbourg—alongside boat train—morning of the fifth day of sailing; Southampton, 11 A. M.; Bremen, docking alongside Berlin express at 7 A. M.

Bremen Europa

To Cobh,
Plymouth,

Columbus

Cherbourg,
Bremen

The "Famous Four" Expresses

IRELAND • ENGLAND • FRANCE • GERMANY

A Sailing Every Wednesday Midnight

Cabin Class—\$162 up.

New York • Hamburg Hansa • Deutschland

Leisurely Low Rate Crossings:

Hapag M. S. St. Louis

Lloyd S. S. Berlin

DECORATION DAY CRUISE:

Columbus, on May 29 for 9 days visiting Nassau & Havana.

SUMMER VACATION CRUISE:

Reliance, on June 26 for 42 days to Iceland, Spitzbergen, Norway, Estonia, Russia, Finland, Sweden, Denmark, Germany—Stopovers ideal for XITH OLYMPICS, Aug. 1 to 16, BERLIN.

1937 WORLD CRUISE:

Reliance, January 10 for 136 days, Eastward through the Mediterranean, visiting 37 ports, 30 lands on route of 31,570 miles.

Literature, Immediate Reservations Advisable.



Hamburg-American Line



North German Lloyd

57 BROADWAY, NEW YORK, N. Y.

ATLANTA, C. & S. Bank Bldg. BALTIMORE, 323 N. Charles St. BOSTON, 252 Boylston St. BUFFALO, 11 W. Genesee St. CHICAGO, 130 W. Randolph St. CINCINNATI, 2301 Carew Tower. CLEVELAND, 1430 Euclid Ave. DETROIT, 1205 Washington Blvd. HOUSTON, 515 Cotton Ex. Bldg. LOS ANGELES, 620 So. Hill St. MEMPHIS, 317 Cotton Ex. Bldg. NEW ORLEANS, 1713 Amer. Bank Bldg. PHILADELPHIA, 1711 Walnut St. PITTSBURGH, 407 Wood St. SAN FRANCISCO, 289 Post St. SEATTLE, 5532 White-Henry-Stuart Bldg. ST. LOUIS, 903 Locust St. EDMONTON, 10057 Jasper Ave. MONTREAL, 1178 Phillips Place. TORONTO, 45 Richmond St. W. VANCOUVER, 525 Seymour St. WINNIPEG, 673 Main St.

A COMPLETE SERVICE, WITHOUT EXTRA COST, IS OFFERED YOU BY OUR LOCAL AUTHORIZED TRAVEL AGENTS

plan your



summer early...

*with these
booklets
to help*

These booklets, describing the many-sided vacation appeal of California and the Southwest, have helped plan countless western trips. They are yours for the asking.

DUDE RANCH BOOK

The whole Santa Fe dude ranch country, in pictures and simple, comprehensive text, with complete data on 70 ranches.

INDIAN-DETOURS

Those intimate by-the-way motor explorations of New Mexico's Spanish-Indian hinterland that have delighted thousands of Santa Fe patrons.

GRAND CANYON OUTINGS

The world's most famous scenic masterpiece—reached direct only via Santa Fe—as seen from the rim, and along the spectacular inner-Canyon trails.

CALIFORNIA PICTURE BOOK

The greatest of all vacation lands, from the mountains to the sea, from its desert oases to the cathedral quiet of the Big Trees.

Santa Fe's summer fares again will be at their all-time low, with no surcharge in sleeping cars. Delicious Fred Harvey meals, en route, may cost as little as \$1.00 per day. The cool, clean freshness of Santa Fe air-conditioned trains joins supreme comfort to economy for western travel.

And plan to see
TEXAS CENTENNIAL and
SAN DIEGO EXPOSITIONS



W. J. BLACK, P. T. M., Santa Fe System Lines
1001 Railway Exchange, Chicago, Illinois
Mail picture folders and fares

from _____ to _____
Name _____
Address _____

and the Caribbean rank increasingly high in the choice of the American traveler.

Since the Bureau's figures were released, and during 1935 and the early part of this year, there has been a decided increase all round. Europe, despite the Italo-Ethiopian fuss and Hitler's humorous way of striving for peace, is picking up hand over fist, and there is no reason to doubt that after diplomatic faces have been saved in all quarters the travel rush will continue as of old.

It is a curious fact that in spite of the belief that "war clouds are looming" on several horizons, remarkably few cancellations of bookings to Europe have been reported.

Germany and Italy, for example, officially report heavy increase in visitors, particularly since the turn of the year.

But about our "going native" . . .

* * *

Caribbean Gem

COLUMBUS, of course, paved the way for us in the Caribbean, a tropical playground, the area of which runs into millions of square miles. After

setting foot on lonely little San Salvador (perhaps better known as Watling's Island) and thus discovering these United States, Columbus ran into something that gave him a headache when he returned to Queen Isabella's court, 400 years ago.

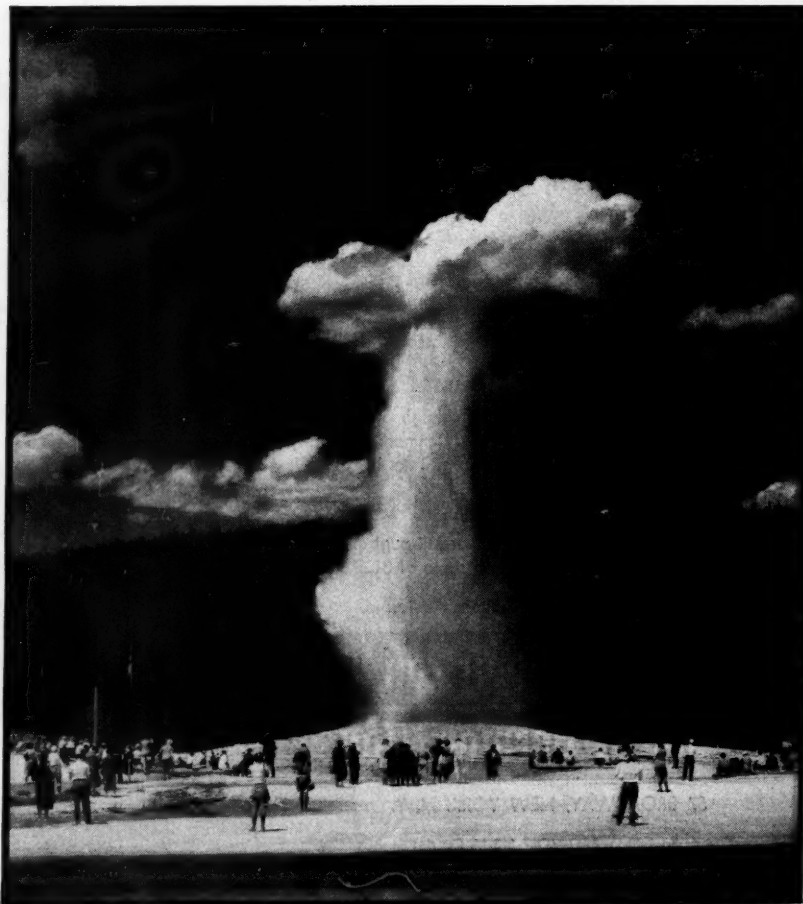
He had wandered far afield in the Caribbean and landed on an island the then natives of which called "Isle of Springs". He called it Xamayca, a sort of literal translation of "Isle of Springs". On his return Isabella asked him to describe it!

He was speechless. Started, stammered, stopped. Finally he crumpled a piece of paper in his hand and let it drop on a table. That, he said to Isabella, was Xamayca—mountainous, indented with bays and harbors. Apparently not even the Greeks had words to describe its foliage and scenery.

The Xamayca of Columbus we know as Jamaica, B. W. I.

Jamaica is the Blue Mountains where the aroma of coffee and pimento mingle with the scent of jasmine borne on the sea-breezes by day and the land-breezes by night; orchids growing wild, tree-ferns that grow to thirty feet in height, and the

Courtesy: Union Pacific Railroad



OLD FAITHFUL

This world-famous geyser in Yellowstone Park spouts with clocklike regularity just for you.

dainty little Sensitive Plant that curls up when you touch it.

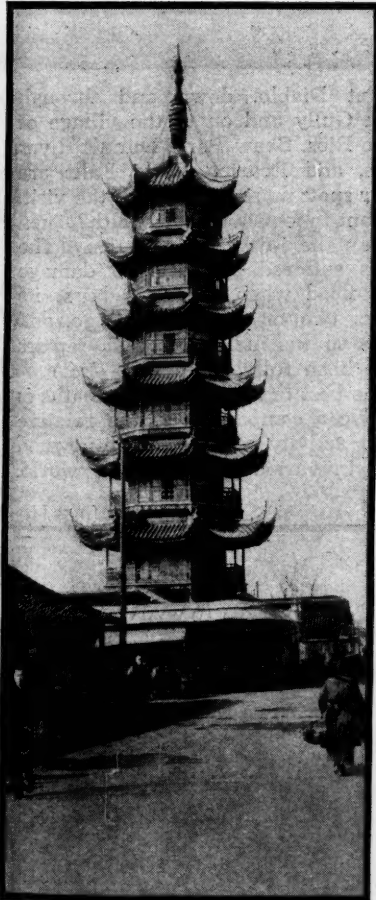
HOWEVER, here we are raving about orchids and jasmine when we should be telling you that there are 3,000 miles of first-class motoring roads that take you all over the island; and that Moneague is a trim little, neat little English village tucked away in the heart of the tropics; or that approaching Stony Hill (2,000 feet up and only a few miles from the dock) there's a native village of thatched mud-huts where pickaninnys disport themselves in the sun, sans everything but a mischievous grin.

And if you take your car along try Stony Hill as a test and see how much boasting you do back home—if the car makes it in high. Extraordinarily few do!

Golf, tennis, sailing, hiking, bathing, alligator hunting . . . name your sport and fulfill the desire. In season American and Canadian tennis teams go to Jamaica for international tournaments and pre-Wimbledon tune-ups.

Knutsford Park is the Belmont Park or Santa Anita track of Jamaica. Go to one of the "bush" meets where enjoyment and a run for your money

Courtesy: Dollar Line by Palmer



Lungwa Pagoda in Shanghai, one of China's ancient buildings.

"DON'T FAIL TO SEE *Old* WILLIAMSBURG"



● "By all means include old Williamsburg in your vacation. It's simply fascinating! It's the colonial Virginia town that has been restored to look as it was in the 18th Century.

"What a job they've done! The Royal Governor's Palace, Colonial Capitol and quaint Raleigh Tavern rebuilt . . . scores of old homes and colonial buildings restored. I'm going again to see those boxwood hedges and all those lovely old houses.

"And you know, historic Jamestown and Yorktown are just a few miles

away. For that matter, so are Virginia's fine beaches. Or you can take a trip to beautiful Shenandoah National Park in the Blue Ridge mountains. Wherever you go, you'll find good roads and a perfect wealth of thrilling historic places.

"Any tourist bureau or motor club can help you plan a Virginia Vacation or, write to the State Commission on Conservation and Development. They'll gladly send information. The address is Department 'F', 914 Capitol Street, Richmond, Virginia."

The restored "Royal Governor's Palace"
in Williamsburg



In VIRGINIA

PLAN A VIRGINIA VACATION

New England

40-Page Illustrated
VACATION GUIDE
JUST OFF THE PRESSES



IF FOR your vacation you want mountains, lakes, and seashore convenient to one another . . . historic houses and quaint cobbled streets . . . Revolutionary shrines . . . summer theatres . . . New England food, cooked in native style . . . sports in an invigorating climate, fresh and sunshiny . . . if you want all these and more, the first step towards enjoying them is to write for this

FREE VACATION GUIDE

Complete and authoritative, its 40 large magazine-sized pages are crammed with tempting vacation suggestions. More than 100 illustrations . . . Tells how to plan your travel budget . . . Detailed and specific information on every form of vacation. It is unwise to choose any vacation until you have read this new guide. Tear out and mail the coupon today.

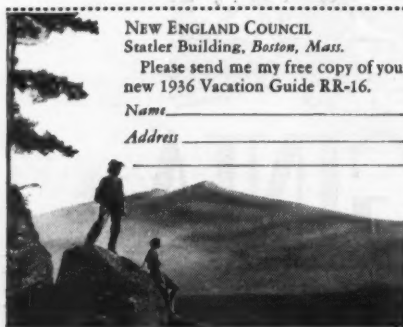


NEW ENGLAND COUNCIL
Statler Building, Boston, Mass.

Please send me my free copy of your new 1936 Vacation Guide RR-16.

Name _____

Address _____



Courtesy: German Railroads Information Office



are paramount. These "bush" meets are not unlike a miniature Epsom Downs (England) on Derby day.

If your desire is history and the romantic lore of the buccaneer, again Jamaica fills the bill. After all Jamaica was the headquarters of Beach and Morgan (among others); Morgan the pirate who became governor of the island, turned turtle and virtually stamped out piracy!

PORT ROYAL is the original City of Sin, although there's none of the

Photo: Nikles, Interlaken



original city in sight today. But legend has it that on a calm, clear day one can see the old city (the belfry of

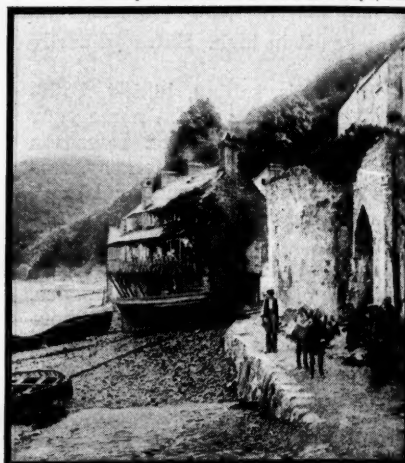
Starting at the top, the photographs show the romantic Neuschwanstein Castle in Bavaria; the quaint village of Clovelly in Devonshire; a scene in the shadow of the Swiss Eiger, Mönch, and Jungfrau; and finally some gallant sailfish caught in the waters off the Isthmus of Panama.

the church, anyway) about thirty feet under water. Well, that was a long time ago, because after the first part of the city was hurtled into the sea by an earthquake, another shock several years later still further buried it.

However, this by no means detracts from the legend or fact about buccaneers and admirals and history. Spanish Town, the old capital reeks with it; and names like Benbow, Rodney, and Nelson are interwoven with the island's fame.

Want scenery? Then try this 120-mile drive from Kingston through Bog Walk, Rio Cobre Gorge, over

Courtesy: Associated British Railways, Inc.



Mount Diablo, down and through Fern Gully and on to the village of Ocho Rios. Shaw Park, Dunn's River Falls, and Roaring River Falls are other spots more than worth the visit.

Want to improve your health? Then there's the Milk River Baths. (The baths suffered considerable damage in a flood when the river burst its banks two or three years ago, and there is no indication that repairs have been fully completed.—Ed.)

The best description of the baths is to give a comparison of the relative radio activity with other renowned spas in various parts of the world.

Courtesy: Grace Line





Revel, Relax, by
Carinthia's Smiling Lakes, in

AUSTRIA

Enter by the trans-glacial Glockner Road, across the High Tauern down to picturesque Heiligenblut, to Velden, and Pörschach on the blue Wörther Lake. Bathe, sail, golf, dance in fashionable resorts. Explore quaint Klagenfurt, the Romanesque glories of the Lavant. See Gurk's fortified cathedral, the feudal stronghold of Hochosterwitz. Hunt, fish, in baronial preserves. Delight in the silks, satins, laces, the lilting songs, patterned dances, of the peasantry. Carinthia boasts the mildest climate in the Alps. The waters of her sparkling lakes are caressingly warm; her season one endless idyl of water fetes and costume and carnivals. Austria is Europe's most inexpensive country. Overnight from all the ports. Reductions up to 60% on railways. No automobile taxes.

FESTIVALS: Vienna, June 7-11. Bruckner at Linz, July 18-21. Salzburg, July 25-August 31. Passion Plays at Thiersee, Sundays, May to October.

For itineraries with rates and fares, festival programs, booklets on Hunting, Golf, Fishing, and the Gross Glockner Road, consult your travel agent or

AUSTRIAN STATE TOURIST DEPARTMENT

630 Fifth Ave., New York Dept. RR Circle 6-3667

Mailed to You for ONLY 10¢



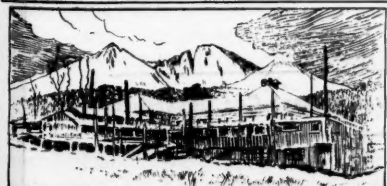
This Handsome
Pictorial MAP
of MEXICO

Here's the way to make that trip to Mexico even more interesting. This large handsomely lithographed 7-color picture-map, 13 X 21 inches, will guide you to those fascinating parts of Mexico not reached by ordinary tourists.

See the native types in full regional regalia. Study the curious occupations and diversions you'll encounter throughout Mexico, including Uruapan, Lake Patzcuaro, Guanajuato, Jalapa, Puebla, Oaxaca Tehuantepec, etc., etc.

Simply write your name and address on the margin of this advertisement, enclosing 10¢ in stamps or coin.

Free descriptive travel folder gladly mailed on request. NATIONAL RAILWAYS of MEXICO, Alamo National Building, San Antonio, Tex.



SPRING TONIC—a mountain vacation rejuvenates. Ride, climb, motor, rest in scenic surroundings. Personal service, home comforts, modest rates at

LONGS PEAK INN

Write—Mrs. Enos A. Mills, Longs Peak, Colorado

Thus we find that Milk River Baths are:

9 times as active as Bath, England;
50 times as active as Vichy, France;
3 times as active as Karlsbad, Austria;
54 times as active as Baden, Germany.

Hypothetical Combinations	Parts per 100,000
Silica SiO ₂	1.20
Calcium bicarbonate	13.36
Calcium Sulphate	192.88
Magnesium Sulphate	66.61
Magnesium Chloride	219.74
Sodium Chloride	1996.06
	2489.85

And this in the tropics!

Finally, if you just prefer a few quiet evenings at bridge (Culbertson, the Vanderbilt convention, and Sims enjoy equal popularity), there's a home from home in Montego Bay, with its own American colony that for many years now has enjoyed the delights of this beauty spot of the island, and whose beach we rank second to none.

As to accessibility, Jamaica enjoys the advantage of three regular weekly services—the United Fruit Company, pioneers in the development of the island and proprietors of the Caribbean's most famous hotel, the Myrtle Bank in Kingston; the Colombian Line, and the Standard Fruit & Shipping Company.

In addition there is the twice-weekly passenger and airmail service of Pan-American Airways, and the year-round special cruises by Cunard White Star, Holland-America, Swedish-American, Hamburg-American, Eastern Steamships, French and Italian lines.

* * *

Panama "Sails"

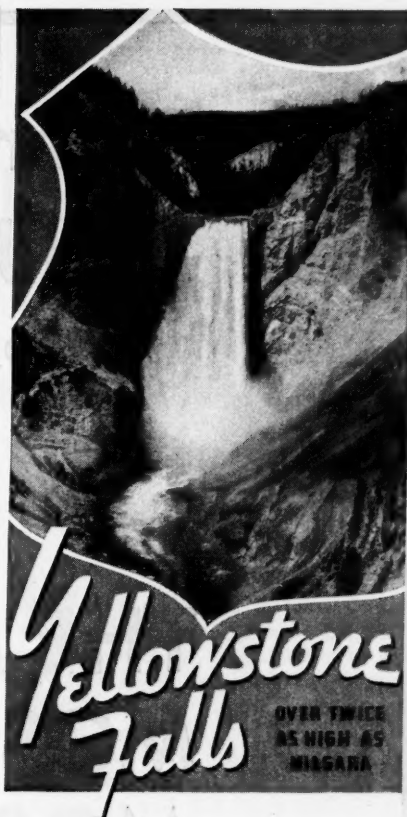
JUDGING from general behavior, in the spring a young man's fancy doesn't necessarily turn to thoughts of love . . . May flies and marlin more likely. Which is letting you know that we're still thinking of fishing.

And when it comes to fishing, Panama is making a strong bid for laurels.

Much has been said concerning deep-sea fishing in Panamanian waters, but too little has been said about two important features of this great sport as concerns the person with the average pocketbook—convenience for the fisherman and the relative inexperience involved.

At hand at all times at the Balboa Yacht Club are fishing cruisers, 30 to 40 footers, run by experienced and capable yachtsmen, most of whom

(Continued on page 75)



It's only one of Yellowstone's many headliners. This famous national park puts on the greatest natural show in the world. Its brilliant array of attractions includes spouting geysers, bubbling "paint pots," exquisitely tinted terraces, prismatic pools, a canyon of gorgeous hue, and one of the world's largest wild animal sanctuaries.

Union Pacific's fine, fast, air-conditioned trains take you directly to Yellowstone. And you can combine your Yellowstone Tour with a visit to Colorado, Salt Lake City, or Zion-Bryce-Grand Canyon National Parks; or include it as a stop-over en route to California or the Pacific Northwest.

**GO THIS SUMMER —
RAIL FARES WILL BE VERY LOW**

This summer — new, fast Streamliner service between Chicago and the West: **City of Portland** (now in service); **City of Los Angeles**; **City of San Francisco**; **City of Denver**. Speed!—Comfort!—a new experience in safe, enjoyable travel!



Avoid the discomforts and hazards of highway travel — go by train.

Mail Coupon for Complete Information

W. S. Basinger, Passenger Traffic Manager
Room 369, Union Pacific Railroad, Omaha, Nebr.

Please send me information about _____

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ State _____

☐ Also tell me about economical, all-expense tours.

**UNION PACIFIC
RAILROAD**

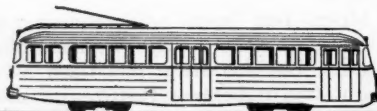
If you are a
MANUFACTURER-ADVERTISER
Isn't this your problem?

To reach

**THE MOST PEOPLE
MOST FREQUENTLY
MOST EFFECTIVELY
AT THE LEAST COST**

CAR ADVERTISING (including display in street cars, buses, trolley buses, subways, els and suburban railroads) **ANSWERS THIS PROBLEM.** In its entirety it provides America's greatest audience (35,000,000 daily). It furnishes big space, full color, illumination and dominant display. It can be used in one city, one state, ten states or the nation. The cost runs to only a few cents per thousand riders. Ask your agency about this powerful sales-producing medium.

Most important advertising agencies



now represent Car Advertising

STREET RAILWAYS ADVERTISING CO.
220 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK

THE LITERARY LANDSCAPE

BY HERSCHEL BRICKELL

Critical studies of affairs and personalities at home and overseas help the reader to form his own opinions, make his own guesses. The month offers a varied list of important books, and some bright fiction.

BOOKS ON OUR domestic situation have by no means lessened in quantity since the appearance of last month's instalment of this department. But they seem to follow familiar paths, and I cannot find among them a single new panacea to relieve, amuse, or alarm us, according to our temperaments.

There are, however, some volumes on international affairs that either offer new information or present it in so striking a way that it has a fresh impact. High up among there is Lamar Middleton's timely "The Rape of Africa" (Smith and Haas, \$3), which is a history of how the European powers have succeeded in swallowing a continent virtually since 1876, and a detailed account of the diplomatic trickeries that accompanied the division of the spoils.

Mr. Middleton speaks of these hornswoggings as "horsetrading", but fails to point out that the horsetrading has been done altogether with stolen horses. It is, in fact, the most striking piece of imperialistic land-grabbing in the history of the world, and thus has other reasons to be interesting besides the speed with which the task has been accomplished.

War Shadows

Even though we have not participated, we once snatched a continent from its primitive owners ourselves, so we have little enough reason to throw up our hands in horror at the actions of the other nations toward the Africans. We can, however, allow ourselves to be disturbed by the prospect presented by Mr. Middleton, who is satisfied that sooner or later African colonies will be the cause of a great war.

Another outstanding book in this general field is Edwin A. Falk's "Togo and the Rise of Japanese Sea Power"

(Longmans, Green, \$4), which is a biography of a great naval leader and at the same time a complete history of the Japanese navy, just now one of the most important factors in world relations. It happens that Togo's life covered the whole story. As Mr. Falk puts it, he lived "from Perry to Parity". While the adventurous career of the quiet little man, who saw arrows used against the British in his

first battle and lived to blow up the whole Russian navy with the most modern weapons, is of sufficient interest in itself, the book has further significance.

The author is a lawyer whose interest in naval affairs is an avocation, and he brings to them both a wide knowledge and the fresh enthusiasm of the amateur. He succeeds in making the most technical aspects of Togo's battles clear and simple, so that the layman will not have to skip them, and he also emphasizes the intense devotion the Japanese nation has to its sea forces, a devotion that has given the island kingdom a navy reputed to be as efficient as any in existence. Togo played a large part in developing this tradition; it is not too much to speak of him as the Father of the Japanese Navy, and hence in a large measure also the father of the present imperialistic course of his native land, although he took no part in politics at any time during his life.

For those who care to follow the Japanese situation farther, there is also "When Japan Goes to War" by O. Tanin and E. Yohan (Vanguard Press, \$3), a study of what will happen to finance and industry in the islands in case of a direct conflict with a major power. The picture is somewhat gloomy, but nations have a way of performing miracles under pressure, and particularly when their peoples are as single-heartedly patriotic as the Japanese seem to be.

Before nations go to war in these times they set up elaborate systems of espionage and propaganda, and a book called "The Brown Network" (Knight Publications, \$3), which is the anonymous work of several authors, exposes the evil machinations of the nazis and presents documentary evidence of the operations



Jim, Jim, the Piper's Son
Learned to pipe
When he was young.
But all the time
That he could play
Was: "Drag in the money
And give it away."

From "Mother Goose in Washington". Drawings by Will H. Chandler. Published by Telegraph Press, Harrisburg, Pa. \$1.00.

of Hitler's agents in practically all countries, including our own. It is charged that the rights of small neighboring states such as Switzerland and Holland have been openly disregarded time after time, that they have, in fact, been looked upon as the German territory of the future. It is also charged that the nazis have been busy in this country, and (as in the case of other lands) the names of their alleged agents are printed in the appendix for all to see.

The real point of the book, aside from its numerous specific examples of nazi outrages against neutral nations, is that such vast amounts of money are being spent on spies and propaganda as to nullify completely Hitler's repeated statements that he wants only peace. Readers of this magazine who recall Roger Shaw's article on the Ukraine in the April issue will be particularly interested to know that the authors of "The Brown Network" insist that Germany is making every preparation for an attack on Russia with the idea of possessing herself of a rich slice of valuable territory.

Status Quo

And while we are discussing useful books on the foreign situation, the 1936 revised edition of Mr. Shaw's "Outline of Governments" (Review of Reviews, \$1), needs to be mentioned as an invaluable handbook, compressing into a small volume an amazing amount of factual material about all the countries on the globe. It is dedicated to "Civil Liberties", which would be enough to win it a place in my affections, but this is only one small reason among a number of more important ones why it is worth reading and owning. In addition to its brief but comprehensive accounts of the governments in existence today, even including San Marino and Andorra, it also contains chapters on world organizations, on vanishing monarchies, on democracy at this moment, and so on. In fact, it sketches the state of the world in its first 30-odd pages. I, who spend my life wading through fat and over-written books, am naturally enthusiastic when anything so compactly written as this volume comes along. It deserves a place on the desk of every one who wishes to know about the world as it is.

All these books bear upon the question of that Next War we keep hearing about, and the whole question of peace in relation to us is covered in "Peace and Party Platforms", which is Number Four in a series of pamphlets called "Headline Books". This one is by William T. Stone. The whole series is under the

Have You Read?

Mont-Saint Michel and Chartres by Henry Adams (Houghton Mifflin, \$3). This classical study of the medieval spirit is here presented in an inexpensive new edition with an introduction by Ralph Adams Cram.

Sweden, The Middle Way by Marquis W. Childs (Yale University Press, \$2.50). How an intelligent small country has met and mastered the Great Depression without sacrificing civil liberties.

Dead Souls by Nicolai Gogol (Modern Library, 95 cents). A handy reprint of a great social satire, with an introduction by our own Clifford Odets.

For Authors Only by Kenneth Roberts (Doubleday, Doran, \$2.50). A book of essays filled with humor and good sense on a wide variety of subjects. The title is not to be taken literally.

The Philo Vance Murder Cases by S. S. Van Dine (Scribners, \$2.50). A detective-story omnibus containing three Philo Vance mysteries and an introduction by Mr. Van Dine in which he explains the theory of the detective story.

editorship of Ryllis Alexander Goslin. Individual issues sell for 25 cents in paper or 35 cents in boards, and the titles now available are "War Tomorrow: Will We Keep Out?", "Made in the U. S. A.", and "Dictatorship". Soon to appear are "Clash in the Pacific" and "Flags and Drums". The Foreign Policy Association is responsible for the pamphlets, which have every one been excellent, direct, succinct, intelligent, and genuinely useful to people in search of information. I have rarely seen the American alternatives to war so simply and clearly presented as they are in the present number, which is designed to help our citizens make up their minds.

As for the new books on our troubles at home, a philosophical consideration of the whole question is to be found in James Truslow Adams's "The Living Jefferson" (Scribners, \$3), a fine and illuminating study of the author of the Constitution and a contrast of his principles with those of his rival Alexander Hamilton. The point of Mr. Adams's excellent volume occurs in this sentence, I think: "These liberties are our birthright, bequeathed from the struggles of our forefathers, and if we sell them for a mess of pottage, we should at least know what we are doing in advance."

Others: William A. Beard's "Create the Wealth" (Norton, \$3), another book about what the engineers can do

for us, with the definite suggestion of a sort of socialistic government operating within our present profit system to take care of the "underprivileged", which sounds impractical to me; and "Revolt Among the Sharecroppers" by Howard Kester (Covici-Friede, fifty cents), an account of the organization of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union in Arkansas, which winds up with a suggestion for a National Land Authority and the abolition of the profit system. Much of the material is first-hand and exciting. It is only the theorizing that seems somewhat fatuous.

As an appendix to the Jefferson book, there has been published by Barnes and Noble for 25 cents "The Constitution of the United States", edited by William R. Barnes, a little pamphlet that contains not only the full text of the Constitution, but its history, all the amendments, the important rulings of the Supreme Court, a list of the Presidents and of the dates of admission to the Union of our states and territories. It's a good thing to have handy during this election year.

Shifting Soil

Then, in addition, there is another book published some months ago that needs to be mentioned because of its extreme timeliness. This is Paul B. Sears's "Deserts on the March", originally brought out by the University of Oklahoma Press and now distributed by Simon and Schuster. It sells for \$2.50 and is the work of an all-around scientist, who also happens to have common sense. As the title indicates, it deals with the question of erosion, whose striking effects we now read about in the papers nearly every day either as too much water or too much dust, and it also suggests that unless we get busy with both money and brains we may wake up to find ourselves without sufficient good land to support us with food-stuffs. Mr. Sears is skeptical of the claims of the agronomists who perform miracles with fertilizers, and I think rightly so. The difference between his point of view and theirs is that he knows nature and her tricks and has more respect for her than the inside worker with the test tube. I have read no more intelligently written, thought-provoking book this year than "Deserts on the March". It fully deserves a triple-starred recommendation.

A detailed and authoritative book is George A. Malcolm's "The Commonwealth of the Philippines" (Appleton-Century, \$5), which considers the present and possible future status of the islands, as well as their past. The author was for thirty years

Accountancy Home-Study

made interesting and practical thru problem method

YOU know as well as we do that Accountancy fits many men for positions that pay three and five and ten thousand dollars a year—gives many other men unusual opportunity to start a profitable growing business of their own.

You probably realize also that—because of the new state and federal legislation—the accounting profession faces now and for the next few years the greatest opportunity it has ever had.

The only question is—just how practical is it for *you* to train yourself adequately in Accountancy through home study?

And the answer lies in the LaSalle Problem Method.

For this modern plan of training not only makes Accountancy study at home thoroughly practical but makes it interesting as well.

And here's how:

You Learn by Doing

Suppose it were your privilege every day to sit in conference with the auditor of your company or the head of a successful accounting firm. Suppose every day he were to lay before you in systematic order the various problems he is compelled to solve, and were to explain to you the principles by which he solves them. Suppose that one by one you were to work those problems out—returning to him every day for counsel and assistance—

Granted that privilege, surely your advancement would be faster by far than that of the man who is compelled to pick up his knowledge by study of theory alone.

Under the LaSalle Problem Method you pursue, to all intents and purposes, that identical plan. You advance by solving problems.

Only—instead of having at your command the counsel of a single individual—one accountant—you have back of you the organized experience of the largest business training institution in the world, the authoritative findings of scores of able

accounting specialists, the actual procedure of the most successful accountants.

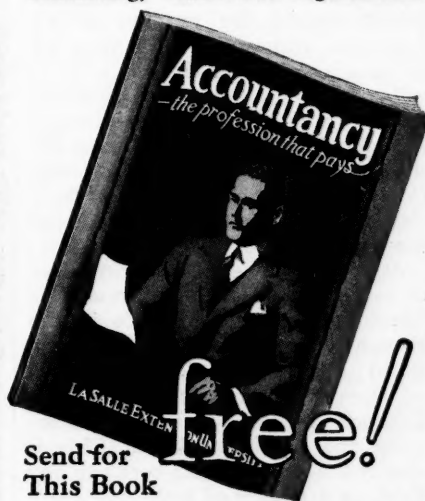
Thus—instead of fumbling and blundering—you are coached in the solving of the very problems you must face in the higher accounting positions or in an accounting practice of your own. Step by step, you work them out for yourself—until, at the end of your training, you have the kind of ability and experience for which business is willing and glad to pay real money—just as it was glad to pay these men.*

Five Men Who Tested and Proved It for You

For instance, there was the man who started Accountancy training with us in 1916. After a short period of study, he took a position as bookkeeper for a year, and then became accountant for a leading automobile manufacturer—with two bookkeepers under him. Today he is auditor of one of the foremost banks in his state and his salary is 325 percent larger than when he started training.

He writes, "My training is the best investment I've ever made, showing a cash value running into five figures."

And the young clerk, earning \$75 a month eleven years ago and now getting many times that as general auditor for an outstanding, nation-wide organization.



*Names and addresses given on request.

Within six months after he began our training, he was earning \$125 a month and within four years, he was earning \$250.

Do you wonder that he writes, "While LaSalle ads once seemed like fairy tales to me, now I know from personal experience that they are true?"

Or let us tell you about two men—one a stenographer and the other a retail clerk—neither of whom knew more than the simplest elements of bookkeeping. One is now the comptroller and the other the assistant comptroller of a large company.

"LaSalle training in Higher Accountancy," write both, "was the important factor in our rapid climb."

And if you are thinking about the C. P. A. degree and a public accounting business of your own, read about the pharmacist who was earning \$30 a week eleven years ago when a LaSalle registrar secured his enrollment for Accountancy training. Eight months later he left the drug store to take a bookkeeping job at \$20 a week—less money but larger opportunity. Three years later he passed the C. P. A. examination and a year later yet he was earning \$5,000 a year. Now he has his own highly successful public accounting firm for which he says, "My LaSalle training has been largely responsible."

One-Tenth of All C. P. A.'s Are LaSalle Trained

If you want still more proof, remember that 1,350 C. P. A.'s—approximately one-tenth of all those in the United States who have ever passed the difficult examination for this coveted degree—are LaSalle trained.

And knowing these facts, ask yourself if there can be any further question about the practicability of this training for you—ask rather if the real question is not about the size of your own ambition and the quality of your determination.

For Accountancy is no magic wand for the lazy or the fearful or the quitter—it offers success only to the alert adult who has the courage to face the facts and the will to carry on till the job is done.

If you are that individual, the coupon below, filled out and mailed, will bring you free the information that can open up to you the future of which you have dreamed—ability and income and success.

Is it not worth getting that information?

LaSalle Extension University

LaSALLE EXTENSION UNIVERSITY, Dept. 567-HR, Chicago, Ill.

Please send me, free of all cost or obligation, your 64-page, illustrated book, "Accountancy, the Profession That Pays," telling about the profession of accountancy and your training for success in that field.

Name.....
Address..... City.....
Position..... Age.....



DEMOCRATIC "PARTY" GOES MAD!

"But Alice asked, 'Why do you spill the tea in all directions?' The Dormouse woke an instant and spoke just one word: 'Elections.' The Hatter smiled at Alice and his tone was harvard-hearty: 'Such things, my dear, are always done to liven up The Party.'"

So gyre and gimble the romping lines of Arthur L. Lippmann's satirical, carrollesque verse in the May issue of LIFE—Alice being the Public, The Dormouse Congress, The March Hare Mr. Farley and The Hatter Mr. Roosevelt—with a mad full-color illustration of this Mad Tea Party by Gregor Duncan. And then LIFE'S editorial page—"The Great Gullibility Test," by Frank R. Kent of the Baltimore Sun:

"Billions have been poured out, a huge bill has been run up, many curious schemes have been launched, but the most vital problems of the country have not been ameliorated," says Kent, asking whether the American voter is gullible enough "to swallow quite as large and rancid a dose as is now being dished up." LIFE is, as always, anti-hokum. For six months LIFE will lampoon the madnesses of American politics. Don't miss it.

Your money's worth—

in regular features, too—such as Don Herold, George Jean Nathan, Kyle Crichton, George Price, Parke Cummings, George Clark and many other high-lighters of good humor—to say nothing of LIFE'S "Are You Sure?" department—that popular mirror of intelligence. All for 15c a copy (on newsstands 20th of every month) or \$1.50 a year if you

MAIL THE COUPON TO:

Life

60 East 42 Street, New York City

Gentlemen: Enter my subscription for 12 months at (enclosed herewith) \$1.50 in U. S. and Canada. (kindly bill me) (Foreign \$2.10.)

Name _____

Street _____ RR5

City _____ State _____

Senior Justice of the Supreme Court of the land he is writing about and is therefore familiar with it at first hand.

An excellent study of the foreign elements in the population of this country is B. Schrieke's "Alien Americans" (Viking, \$2.50), the work of a famous Dutch ethnologist and sociologist and thus free from bias. Negroes, Japanese, Chinese, Mexicans and Indians, and their present and future status are examined.

Lives and Letters

The biography shelf offers two books of timely interest to Americans—Frederick Palmer's "This Man Landon" (Dodd, Mead, \$1.50), a laudatory life-story of the Kansas governor, with an account of his background and also his political experience; and Claudius O. Johnson's "This Man Borah" (Longmans, Green, \$3), a much more detailed and critical study of another Republican presidential possibility. Mr. Palmer's volume is pretty much of a campaign biography. Mr. Johnson's, while written with Senator Borah's approval and assistance, is of more enduring value as the story of a remarkable career in public office. It is well illustrated with cartoons.

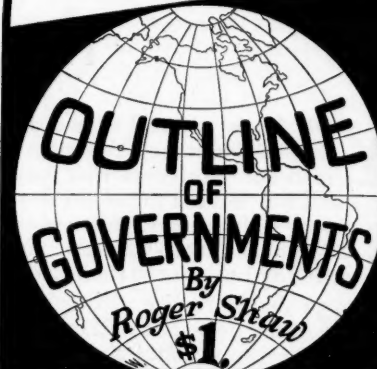
Of particular importance because of the current interest in the question of neutrality, which seems to have brought a distinct change in the sentiment toward the memory of an American statesman, is Wayne C. Williams's "William Jennings Bryan" (Putnam, \$4), an admirer's biography, although not at all non-critical. The author, who knew his subject well, was formerly Attorney General of Colorado, and is now Special Assistant Attorney General of the United States.

Among the other good biographies of recent weeks is Peter Freuchen's "Arctic Adventure: My life in the Frozen North" (Farrar and Rinehart, \$3.50), a fine, long, rich book about a Dane's adventures among the Eskimos, modest, realistic, informative and highly readable. This is one of the season's best books in any field, as a matter of fact.

Also recommended are G. B. Stern's "Monogram" (Macmillan, \$2.50), an informal and entertaining autobiography by a famous novelist; Blanche Colton Williams's "George Eliot" (Macmillan, \$4), a careful and scholarly work that contains many hitherto unpublished letters; and Edward Thompson's "Sir Walter Raleigh" (Yale University Press, \$4), which presents the Elizabethan hero as a magnificent failure.

A quick roundup of some of the other recent nonfiction books of im-

"Contains an enormous amount of useful and valuable information."
WILLIAM LYON PHELPS



1936 REVISED EDITION

A recent review of this book in the New York Times Book Review so well describes "The Outline of Governments" that we are making no comment ourselves—simply quoting from that review of April 5, 1936.

INDISPENSABLE is a fit adjective to apply to this book for readers who want to understand the governmental systems in the news and who want a background for the explanatory articles about them that march incessantly through the monthly magazines. Roger Shaw, who is foreign editor of The Review of Reviews, knows his subject and has the knack of writing interestingly even with mere bare facts as material. First comes an introductory section of almost forty pages which deals with world organizations—League of Nations, World Court, Third International, Pan American Union, British Commonwealth of Nations—the monarchs, remaining or recently deposed, of the world, the dictatorships that are disputing with democracy for future power, proportional representation, world languages, world religions, and anti-religions.

Having thus provided an approach from which to deal with the individual governments, he takes them all up, seventy of them, seriatim, beginning with the United States and other governments of North and South America and then following, in order, with those of Europe, Asia, Africa and the Antipodes. He does not forget even such small governmental organizations as Iceland, Andorra, Iraq, Monaco and Bhutan, with its 17,000 square miles of Himalayan mountain peaks wedged in between Tibet and British India. About each one of all these governments Mr. Shaw tells in very brief space the most significant facts of its history and present situation, political, civic, economic, and ends with a short list of items including name of present ruler, area, population, capital and sometimes other matters. As a handy reference book, both factual and illuminating, for every nation, small or large, on the face of the earth, Mr. Shaw's volume will fill an aching vacancy.

If not available at your bookstore

SEND COUPON TODAY

Review of Reviews Corp. RR 5-36
233 Fourth Ave.
New York, N. Y.

Please send me "Outline of Governments" for which I enclose \$1. If I am not satisfied I may return it at once and my money will be refunded.

Name _____

Address _____

On Gramercy Park NEW YORK

One of New York's nicest hotels,
serving a clientele of refinement.
Convenient location, overlook-
ing private park.

Single Rooms from \$2 Daily
Attractive weekly rates

HOTEL PARKSIDE

20th Street and Irving Place
UNDER KNOTT MANAGEMENT

WHY DON'T YOU WRITE?

Writing short stories, articles on business, hobbies, travels, sports, etc., will enable you to earn extra money. In your own home, on your own time, the New York Copy-Desk Method teaches you how to write—the way newspaper men learn, by writing. We have prepared a unique "Writing Aptitude Test" which tells whether you possess the fundamental qualities essential to successful writing. You'll enjoy this test. Write for it, without cost or obligation.

NEWSPAPER INSTITUTE OF AMERICA

Suite 533, One Park Avenue New York, N. Y.

You can Regain Perfect Speech, if you

STAMMER

Send today for beautifully illustrated book entitled "DON'T STAMMER," which describes the Bogue Unit Method for the scientific correction of stammering and stuttering. Method successfully used at Bogue Institute for 35 years—since 1901. Endorsed by physicians. Full information concerning correction of stammering sent free. No obligation. Benjamin N. Bogue, Dept. 304, Circle Tower, Indianapolis, Ind.

INFERIORITY COMPLEX

is a "disturbance centre" in subconsciousness, generating powerful negative impulses, causing self-consciousness, lack of charm, nervousness, worry, weak will, etc. To struggle against these personality-weakening forces is in vain—REMOVE THEM ALTOGETHER by reconstructing within yourself a powerful positive subconscious mind—vibrant, confident, resourceful! Write for FREE BOOK.

British Institute of Practical Psychology, Inc.
Dept. RR-56, Stamford, Conn.

MAKE MONEY with your CAMERA

Magazines, newspapers, advertisers BUY millions of photos a year. Let us teach you how to take real human-interest pictures that SELL! Our personalized home-study course prepares you to make good money in this fascinating field—quickly, at low cost in spare time. Write now for FREE Book.

UNIVERSAL PHOTOGRAPHERS
Dept. 345, 10 W. 33rd St., N.Y.C.

Learn At home—in spare time. Many overcome "stage-fright," gain self-confidence and increase earning power, this easy way. Write for free booklet, *How to Work Words with Words* and requirements.

North American Institute, Dept. 1045
3601 Michigan Ave. Chicago, Illinois

U. S. GOVERNMENT JOBS!

START

\$1260 to \$2100 Year

Men—Women
Get ready
Immediately

Common edu-
cation usually
sufficient.

Mail Cou-
pon today
sure.

COUPON

FRANKLIN INSTITUTE
Dept. K238, Rochester, N. Y.

Sirs: Rush to me without charge,
(1) 32-page book with list of
many U. S. Government Big Pay
Jobs. (2) Tell me how to get one
of these jobs.

Name.....
Address.....

portance includes Anatole Bourman's "The Tragedy of Nijinsky" (Whittlesey House, \$3), a book written by a former classmate of the great dancer in collaboration with D. Lyman, and particularly good in the earlier chapters about the Imperial Ballet; "The Anatomy of Personality" by Howard W. Haggard and Clements C. Fry (Harpers, \$3), an attempt to classify human beings according to their physical types, but without any extravagant claims for the plan; and George W. Gray's "New World Picture" (Atlantic Monthly Press—Little, Brown, \$3.50), a study of the wonders of modern physics for the layman, much of it written direct from the great laboratories and the men at work in them.

Fiction Looks Up

The upward trend in fiction noted here last month continues, and the people who by now ought to be finishing George Santayana's "The Last Puritan" will find plenty of other good novels to read. At the top of the list is Winifred Holtby's "South Riding" (Macmillan, \$2.50), the author of which died at the age of 37 a few months ago after an illness of several years.

After a period of silence, from the direction of the Soviets, three considerable Russian novels have appeared. They are Alexei Tolstoy's "Darkness and Dawn" (Longmans, Green, \$2.50), a long book about the fate of intellectuals under the Revolution, that comes as far down as 1919 and has been compared to Sholom Asch's "Three Cities"; "The Ocean" by Paul Nizovoy (Harpers, \$2.50), the story of man's fight with nature on the shores of the Arctic ocean; and Ayn Rand's "We, The Living" (Macmillan, \$2.50), a novel written in English by a young Russian girl who has lived in Soviet Russia.

The outstanding American fiction of the moment includes William McNally's "The Roofs of Elm Street" (Putnam, \$2.50), the story of a small middle-western community from 1872 down to 1913, with far-reaching implications, a solid piece of work although with stylistic distinction; Dorothy Gardiner's "The Golden Lady" (Doubleday, Doran, \$2.50), the story of a western mining camp and its people, well turned out but a little on the Edna Ferber-slick magazine order; Charles Morrow Wilson's "Rabble Rouser" (Longmans, Green, \$2), a novel of an Arkansas political leader, conventional in plot but with excellent local color; and Karlton Kelm's "The Cherry Bed" (Bobbs-Merrill, \$2.50), a satirical study of life in a small provincial town by a newcomer who has obvious talent.

SEX BEHAVIOR IN MARRIAGE

by CHARLES CLINTON, M. D.

This book is all that the title implies!

"What countless marriages could get started right if Dr. Clinton's instructions for the wedding night were studied by those about to be married."

DR. RALPH WELLES KEELER

At last . . . a book of sex technique that treats the subject frankly and in informative detail without offending the reader's sense of decency . . . A medical authority proves that it is possible to cast aside all pretense and false modesty and discuss the most important single factor in the lives of men and women in a manner that is a compliment to the reader's intelligence.

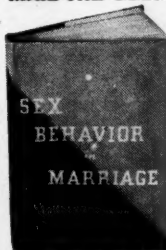
SPECIFIC DIRECTIONS FOR MARITAL CONDUCT

■ It is the purpose of this book to give, in clear yet dignified manner, exact instructions for the fuller understanding of marital procedure . . . Dr. Clinton's long years as a physician and wide clinical experience merit your confidence in his opinions.

SOME OF THE SUBJECTS INCLUDED

The Organs of Sex
Correct Preliminaries
Impotence—causes and cures
Frigidity
The Wedding Night
Variety in Technique
Frequency of Union
Birth Control
Fertility Periods
Sexual Adjustments

MAIL THE COUPON TODAY!



\$2.00

■ This vivid book, cloth bound, is printed in clear type and illustrated with informative diagrams.
Not sold to minors

PIONEER PUBLISHING COMPANY

Dept. 4A5, 1270 Sixth Ave., Radio City, N.Y.

Gentlemen: Please send me "Sex Behavior in Marriage" in a plain wrapper, as indicated below. If I am not completely satisfied I will return the book within 5 days and my money will be immediately refunded.

☐ Enclosed find \$2.00 send postage prepaid.
☐ Send C. O. D. I will pay postman \$2.00, plus few cents postage on delivery.

Name.....

Address.....

City..... State.....

Orders from Foreign Countries, \$2.50 in advance

"You can reach me by Telephone"



"YOU can reach me by telephone" . . . you say it casually, but there is assurance in your voice. For you can depend on telephone service. You call a number and a voice answers—across the street or across a continent. It's so easy to do—you have been doing it for years. Use has dimmed the wonder of the telephone.

Yet the wonder grows—there is no ending to telephone progress. Service is quicker, clearer and more accurate. Improvements are made each year. Things once thought impossible are now accomplished fact. Tomorrow will see still greater achievement.

That is the pioneering spirit of American enterprise. American initiative and American resourcefulness have given this country the best telephone service in the world.

Obviously this did not just happen. It has been brought about by the development of the Bell System over the past half-century. Time has proved the rightness of its plan of operation. Quick, dependable, universal service makes it possible for you to talk to almost every one, everywhere, and to say confidently—"You can reach me by telephone."

Ten years ago it took, on the average, 20 minutes to put through a long distance call between New York and San Francisco. Today it takes less than 2 minutes. The cost of a daytime station-to-station call between these points is now 45% less than in 1926.

BELL TELEPHONE SYSTEM



THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

BY ALBERT SHAW

Unrest abroad still makes Uncle Sam's best bet a big navy . . . We play our part as Pan-Americans . . . Politics at home . . . The Rooseveltian Party takes shape.

IN THE UNITED STATES, as we enter upon the election campaign, our citizens are thinking principally about their personal affairs and our domestic politics. There is nothing in our external situation to worry us. The American government has no real dispute on hand with the government of any other country. Secretary Hull and the entire State Department undoubtedly regret the fact that the legation from Iran (Persia) has felt its dignity hurt and has packed up its things in a huff and gone back to Asia. It seems that somebody connected with that legation was arrested out on a Maryland road by the highway police for breaking the local speed laws.

Due respect was not shown by the sovereign state of Maryland to the immunity of "diplomats". We have heretofore allowed official foreigners to engage quite freely in bootlegging, and to run their automobiles past red traffic lights. But Franklin Roosevelt's irresistible policy of "the good neighbor" will surely bring the Persians back to Washington. So we may be sure—that is to say, about as sure as anything else in an uncertain world—that the Persian fleet will not sail up the Potomac River and bombard Washington. Otherwise, the diplomatic horizon shows no signs of menacing weather on our coasts.

Mr. Norman Davis, our Ambassador-at-Large, has returned with his associates from the Naval Conference at London. The upshot of the protracted discussions may be expressed in the simple statement that the 5-5-3 ratio is at an end. The Washington Conference of 1921-22 was called at a time when the United States had deliberately undertaken to build the most powerful navy in the world. But we modified our policy, signed

treaties, and scrapped the hulls of new ships.

The previous policy of England had been to maintain naval strength superior to the combined sea-power of any two other countries. She would resist any challenge of her supremacy over the seas. But in order to avoid the cost and danger of a competitive race in the ship-building yards of rival countries, Great Britain and the United States accepted naval equality as a principle.

Japan, somewhat reluctantly, agreed not to build capital ships beyond the limit of three-fifths of the British and American maximum. France and Italy had relied upon the support of these three naval powers during the World War, and their strength at sea had fallen to its lowest relative point in 1922. The Washington Conference displeased the French and Italians. They criticized its principles as fallacious, and regarded its agreements as temporary scraps of paper. Germany had already been eliminated as a naval power, and so had Russia.

Wilson Learned

Of all the major governments that had shared in the victories which ended the war with the Armistice of November 1918, the United States was the only one that did not seek any spoils of conquest. Woodrow Wilson had proclaimed high principles and noble ideals, but he could not give them practical form. He was completely outwitted. The insatiable greed of the Allies at the close of the war was as shocking to Wilson as it was merciless to Germany.

In 1914 and 1915, while he was urging strict neutrality on the part of the United States, President Wilson had set himself against the views of

those of us who demanded army and navy preparedness on a bold scale. This resistance by him was conscientious, but it proved to be the most disastrous mistake in all our history. In a condition of timid and disgraceful weakness, we abandoned neutrality. We allowed ourselves to be drawn into the vortex of Europe's war, through procrastinating drift and through effective Anglo-French propaganda.

Wilson came to realize all this when it was too late. He thought it best that we should ratify the Versailles Treaty, believing that if we entered the League of Nations we could be influential in the correction, from time to time, of the dangerous character of the settlements forced upon Germany.

But, also, Woodrow Wilson had learned a lesson of statesmanship by the terrible experiences that were so soon to cost him his life. He had learned that there is no virtue in a strong man making himself weak as a definite policy, in order to convince others that his purposes are friendly and peaceful. Those who proclaim peace, and who have no possible motive for aggression, are in a position wholly absurd when they espouse the doctrine of inefficiency. Wilson had abandoned the view that to be influential for peace you should be extremely careful to be a little weaker than those who are intent upon war.

In advocating the largest navy, after his return from Paris, Woodrow Wilson was the true pacifist. The British had just then added enormously to their far-flung empire by appropriating the major part of the German colonies, under the specious pretense of "mandates". The object of their navy was to maintain, intact, their imperial agglomeration. The French

could not afford an important navy, but they were dominating Europe by maintaining their war-time army, and by subsidizing smaller allied states with money borrowed from the United States. They, also, had an immense empire, and they were in position to see that the British navy helped to protect their "colonies".

Considered as an abstract principle, the plan of balancing stupendous naval forces against each other by diplomatic agreements is so ridiculous that no naval authority could regard it otherwise than with scoffing and contempt. The high seas belong to all nations, for the proper purposes of commerce and friendly intercourse. When its seamen sank the German fleet off the coast of Scotland after the war was ended, they proclaimed the act as symbolic. Other nations were to reduce their fleets with due rapidity. The Germans were not to be placed at disadvantage. This was sound doctrine and true wisdom.

Naval Ratios On

The Naval Conference was called in the first year of Harding's administration. The British afterwards claimed that the plan of holding the conference, and the idea of theoretical Anglo-American equality, were theirs behind the scenes, although President Harding and Secre-



GUNS

Surveying Guantanamo Bay from the deck of the Pensacola. Disarmament can only follow pressure from public opinion.

tary Hughes were to be given the credit. The proposed arrangement was left incomplete as regarded cruisers and other items. The British and Japanese took full advantage of the treaty's shortcomings. Our government had insisted upon the termination of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. We also signed up a large group of powers on a promise to respect the independence and sovereignty of China.

No country needs a navy, in the sense of the modern high-seas fleet; and a true League of Nations would not tolerate naval warfare. The British argue in a vicious circle. The greater the empire they acquire by naval aggression, the larger must be the fleet—so they assert—necessary to fulfil the responsibilities resting upon them in all parts of the world. Without any navy at all, British commerce would be as secure as that of Norway.

If the foregoing be true, upon what grounds can the American navy be justified? Solely, of course, upon the logic of emergencies in a time of transition. We have steadfastly declared our belief in naval reduction. But everyone admits that the virtual abolition of navies will not be accomplished by separate action of individual countries.

Within a few months England, on her own initiative and without con-

sulting other governments, has violated her obligations to France under the Versailles Treaty by making a separate agreement with Berlin, authorizing a large increase of the German navy. Not Japan alone, but also Italy and France, as well as Germany, have entered upon policies of naval enlargement.

Naval Ratios Off

The recent Naval Conference at London made some trivial agreements to whitewash the reversal of the policy of 1922. It was the hope of the present writer, and of millions of peace-loving citizens everywhere, that the principle of naval equality and of agreements by ratio as adopted in 1922 would lead to a rapid downward leveling of naval expenditures, until finally the seas would become neutralized and immune, with cooperative patrol. These were pious hopes, but they have failed. Every country will now decide for itself the size of its navy.

We allowed our navy to drift far below treaty strength, but the British and Japanese did not follow our lead in voluntary reduction. On the contrary, they took advantage of our laxity to increase their own actual and relative strength.

Although our government was assuming to speak rather sharply about Japanese policies in Manchuria and China, we were weakening our defensive position in the Pacific, while the Japanese were making every sacrifice to increase their naval power. The military element in Japan, with unlimited self-confidence and soaring ambition, was planning for full control over the destinies of China. They saw that we were withdrawing from the Philippines, at the very time when Japan was defying the League of Nations and was pressing forward with her program of conquest on the mainland.

It is true that there is in Japan a party that is more pacific, and far less eager for adventure by land and sea. Leaders of this Japanese element had always been aware that the American people were friendly. They also knew something of the tremendous reserve power of the United States. These non-aggressive Japanese would look with alarm upon any marked reduction of American naval strength at this time. Their deadly quarrel is not with us. Rather, it is with their own extreme and fanatical militarists in Japan.

It would seem, therefore, an ignorant and cowardly thing for us to reduce naval strength at this time, when the peace-loving peoples of the entire world—including probably a majority of the inhabitants of the so-called British Empire—would be glad

if our navy were twice as strong as that of any other government.

We could have three kinds of naval policy. Before we were led into our war policy of 1917, the foremost woman in America, having the courage of her convictions (since she was the daughter of William Lloyd Garrison), made public arguments in favor of our taking all of our battleships, cruisers, submarines, torpedo boats and destroyers, and sinking them at a proper distance from the coastline. This was a logical policy, even though it did not make many converts. We had an expensive navy, but it was very much smaller and weaker than the navies of England and Germany, not to mention one or two other countries. In a major predicament this expensive, inferior navy would have done us no good, and would have been likely to involve us in trouble.

Ours was the wealthiest country in the world, and it was self-sustaining as regarding most products. In view of the situation abroad, two defensible policies were open to us. One was to abandon all idea of having fighting ships in commission. The other was to build a first-class, effective navy as rapidly as possible. We took neither course. We stood first among the powers in wealth and available resources, while paying heavy bills for a second-rate or third-rate navy that could do us no good. With no navy at all, we should have kept out of the war. With a great new navy, built in the years 1914, 1915 and 1916, we should most certainly have kept out of the war. Our second-rate navy merely helped to get us into the belligerent group; and we lent our few good battleships to the British as an adjunct of their North Sea fleet.

One Way to Escape War

So far as symptoms are concerned, world war would seem to be more threatening now than in the early summer of 1914. It is not the belief of the editors of this periodical that a major war is likely to occur within the next year or two; but everyone will admit that there is serious danger of conflict, both in Europe and in Asia. The American people do not intend to cross the Pacific to fight in the Far East. Neither do they intend to allow their boys to cross the Atlantic and fight again in Europe, even to atone for the injustice of the Versailles Treaty—for which we were in some part responsible.

How then shall we keep from being dragged into the quarrels of Old World empires? How also can we render the best practical help to the peace-loving citizens of many other countries, including the simple folk, alike in Europe and Asia, who seem

to have no effective control over the activities of their own governments?

Congress has been studying this question of war and peace, with serious purpose. It is now certain enough that we will not be drawn into foreign wars through the greed of munition-makers or other profiteering industrialists. But Congress, besides neutrality legislation, is also appropriating the largest sums for the navy and the army that we have ever spent heretofore in a time of peace. Many clergymen, and many peace-loving women, have been sounding alarms

and denouncing this policy of increased expenditure.

With all respect for their good intentions, we can only deplore the fact that their minds are so misled and confused. A good police department, well equipped, does not make riots. A good fire department does not promote conflagrations. Public-health measures do not conduce to the spread of epidemics. A good navy, so far as the United States is concerned, is a boon to the peace-loving people of all countries, and a guaranty of safety to our own interests.

Pan-American Conference at Buenos Aires to promote peace and harmony

In the great days of James Monroe, John Quincy Adams, and Henry Clay, we informed Europe that no part of the western hemisphere could be regarded as any longer available for conquest or re-conquest by trans-Atlantic powers. We had acknowledged the independence of the Spanish-American republics. But after the downfall of Napoleon the Holy Alliance of European monarchs was proposing to aid Spain in the great adventure of regaining authority all the way from California, Texas, and Mexico down to the Patagonian tip of South America. The American navy had shown its fine qualities in the long period of French and English violation of our neutral rights that ended in 1815. Our public buildings in Washington had been burned by the enemy; but Andrew Jackson had saved the honor of our land forces in the battle of New Orleans.

It took courage to declare the Monroe Doctrine, but far more was involved than most of our schoolboys today can find in their textbooks of American history. The validity of Jefferson's purchase in 1803 of the vast area extending from the Gulf of Mexico far northward and westward had never been accepted in Europe. Napoleon had transferred this region to the United States in one of his moments of emergency.

If Spain had been allowed to regain Mexico—including Texas and California—with the aid of other European powers, the United States would have been confronted with a joint military and naval expedition on the part of two or more European governments to undo the so-called Louisiana Purchase, on the ground that Napoleon had sold what did not belong to him. The energetic assertion of the Monroe Doctrine affected British policy, and saved some or all of the new Spanish-American republics from the hazards of fresh wars to

support their independence against European armies and navies. It probably saved the United States from a war to retain its new trans-Mississippi territory extending from Louisiana to Minnesota. Also it had to do with the permanent retention of Florida by the United States.

The Role of Protector

At critical moments for more than a century the United States navy has stood as the protector against European aggression of one country after another in the western hemisphere. The republic of Cuba owes its existence to our navy; and the self-governing territory of Puerto Rico has a similar history as regards our naval intervention. It may be noted at this point that the Spanish-American War was fought because European experts supposed Spain to be a stronger naval power than the United States. If we had possessed only three or four more battleships, Admiral Cervera's fleet would not have crossed the Atlantic in 1898, and Cuba would have gained her liberty by negotiations.

Our actual wars (or our threatened wars) have invariably resulted from the fact that we had neglected the statesmanlike advice of George Washington to maintain our naval and military efficiency. We lost the northern half of the so-called "Oregon country" because the British sent a fleet against us while we were engaged in protecting Texas against the army of General Santa Anna.

These somewhat extended comments are intended to bear directly upon an important project of the present summer, relating vitally to the future welfare of the American republics. The Latin-American countries accepted with enthusiasm the suggestions made some time ago by President Roosevelt, looking to a conference (to be held at a South

American capital) to promote closer organization for the maintenance of peace. Argentina has duly issued the invitations, and the conference will be held at Buenos Aires in July.

Lamas and Hull

A distinguished publicist and statesman, Hon. Saavedra Lamas who is now Secretary of State of the Argentine Republic, has been coöperating with Secretary Hull and the foreign departments of other republics in preparing the plans and programs for this notable gathering. President Roosevelt is said to have insisted upon the presence of Secretary Hull at the Democratic National Convention late in June. But this service to a political party must be regarded as a trivial affair, when compared with the great opportunities and serious duties that call our Secretary of State to the Pan-American Conference. President Roosevelt's "good neighbor" policy is not partisan in character, nor is it other than a continuance of the well-established attitude of the United States toward peace and harmony in the western hemisphere.

Secretaries Root and Hughes were conspicuous but not exceptional in working for the solution of difficulties through arbitration. The use of American marines in several smaller states has had no object except to protect such countries from internal chaos or external attack, while they were learning to use and accept the orderly processes of self-government. However, we are no longer sending our marines on such errands; and we desire especially that the Monroe Doctrine should have a new and broad interpretation. We have no "big stick" for the discipline of any of our neighbors.

It would seem reasonable to say that the people of the United States would like to see the problems of peace and harmony within this hemisphere turned over to an organization of peoples (rather than of governments or diplomats). They would like to help build such an organization, on sounder and better lines than Europe's League of Nations. They would like to have all American countries, including Canada, agree to mind their own affairs; paddle their own canoes; renounce aggressive militarism; and let foreign empires play their own games on their own terms, so long as they keep their eyes turned away from the self-governing countries of North and South America. They would like to see Canada take her proper place among her neighbors, and refuse henceforth to fight the disgraceful battles of empire, whether in Europe, Asia or Africa. In these troubled decades of read-

justment beyond both oceans, the American navy has a certain duty of guardianship for our half of the world that may prove to be more than nominal. The other American republics cannot afford large navies, and should not try to build them. Our navy will never take advantage, henceforth, of the lack of naval strength on the part of countries lying southward. On the contrary, it could properly be responsive to some general program for protection, peace, and welfare that the Buenos Aires conference may formulate.

Business or Politics?

Secretary Hull would do well to adhere to the view that party politics stop at the shore-line, and that the Secretary of State has no business to be involved in election controversies at the present time. Many who have denounced the extravagance and folly of the improvised relief and recovery experiments at Washington have stood by Secretary Hull and the Department of State. In former times Mr. Hull wrote Democratic platforms. We are not aware that his principles have changed. But Congress and the Administration have violently repudiated most of the historic doctrines, pledges, and promises that Mr. Hull has written into Democratic platforms.

He would do well, in our opinion, to concentrate upon the Pan-American Conference, and let the Phila-

delphia convention severely alone. He has a job of world-wide importance; and he should not try to whitewash the methods of Jim Farley, or to find excuse for the imbecilities of the bureaucratic amateurs. Mr. Hull is a man of character and distinction, who has a background of consistent views and ideals. If he will but be true to himself, the Democratic party will some day find its way back to his standards. But if he surrenders his standards now, where will he find himself when his party begins once more to show respect for the Constitution of the United States?

The Secretary of State of Argentina is slated for the presidency of this year's great gathering of the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva, early in September. The future of the League seems to depend largely upon this year's meeting. A successful Conference of American Republics at Buenos Aires would give Senor Saavedra Lamas immense prestige at Geneva, and would greatly strengthen the League in the purposes entertained by the great majority of its non-imperialist members. Let Mr. Hull, therefore, refuse to be put in the humiliating position of going to Philadelphia to recant the views he held in 1932, and to apologize for the boondoggling nonsense which nobody believes that he could defend consistently with his long established understanding of the principles and methods of good American government.

Public opinion—as influenced by freedom of speech or lack of it.

European wars—imminent and terrible—have held a leading place in the headlines of American newspapers for a number of weeks past. There were exceptional days, however, when Governor Hoffman of New Jersey, and his protégé, the convicted kidnaper Hauptmann, crowded international and political news into obscure corners of the metropolitan and local newspapers. Why Governor Hoffman should have pursued so strange and persistent a course, in his efforts to discredit the machinery of justice in New Jersey, has not yet been disclosed. It is scarcely creditable to the intelligence and wisdom of the public press that it should have forced the absurd and trivial details of the reopened Hauptmann case (including several fake confessions of guilt by criminals and publicity-seekers) upon the attention of millions of disgusted readers.

This New Jersey affair had no apparent connection with the Townsend

Plan, the New Deal, or the radical attacks upon the federal Constitution. Some people, however, have said that it bore a certain relation to Hitlerism and German policies. Hauptmann was himself a German; and there are many people of German origin in places like Jersey City, Hoboken and Newark. We may let it go by saying that this seems far-fetched, and not creditable.

All thoughtful persons must have been glad that Colonel Lindbergh and his brilliant and devoted wife, who are justly regarded as the most distinguished couple now honoring the American name, had gone far away from the unwholesome atmosphere of New Jersey, and remained abroad during the lamentable pre-occupation of Governor Hoffman and his vain efforts on behalf of a justly convicted kidnaper. Meanwhile, let us hope for another delightful book from the pen of the plucky and admired daughter of the late Dwight

Morrow. After all, there are people who remind us of the sane and wholesome sides of our American life, in spite of racketeering and topsy-turvy politics.

Too Well Advertised

When there are such torrents and floods of publicity to inform us that the next world war is about to break loose, we may remind ourselves that actual wars have usually avoided all this passionate pre-advertising. If the French are determined to have the new generation of their well-beloved sons—born after the outbreak of war in 1914, and too few, alas, in numbers—slaughtered uselessly, like their predecessors, in a war with Germany, there is nothing we in America can do to prevent frantic suicide on the part of the refined but excitable Gallic nation.

The whole world has known that Germany was forced to sign the Versailles Treaty, with its denial of future German equality among the sovereign states of Europe. Treaties signed under compulsion, when victors trample upon defeated foes, are not sacred in the eyes of the victims. Every one has known that the Germans would choose their own time, wisely or unwisely, to assert their right to do as they please within their own territory.

If the United States of twenty years ago, when we were foolishly punishing Mexico for imaginary injuries to this country, had built impregnable fortresses along the Rio Grande while forcing Mexico to sign a promise to keep soldiers forever out of the states of the northern tier, the whole of Latin America would justly have resented such stupidity and tyranny on our part.

Germany has over fourteen million people in the Rhineland, a highly industrialized region. For a year or more German boys (including those of the Rhineland) have been under compulsory military training, contrary to the Versailles Treaty. Germany, while declaring peaceful intentions, now insists that she will use her own judgment in the distribution of her military stations. She will not regard the Rhineland as under French or European military control. We hold that borders ought not to be militarized, on either side. We are now happy in good relations with Canada and Mexico. Our neighbors beyond the Rio Grande, indeed, have not attained stability in their domestic politics. We are sorry for this; but we cannot and will not interfere.

France and Germany have it in their power to be friends and good neighbors. They have no reasonable excuse for bothering the world, and creating needless confusion in the

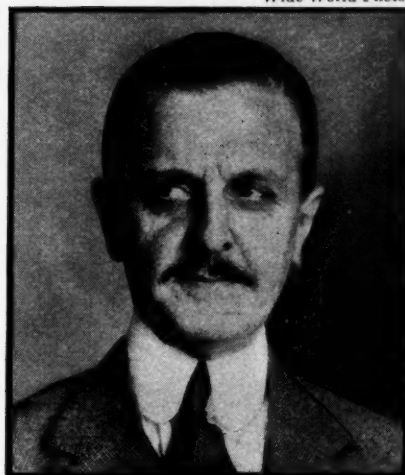
valley of the Rhine. We hold no brief for Herr Hitler's methods. But just now the people of Germany are upholding him almost unanimously. They take their own risks, and it is no business of ours. They were virtually unanimous in electing a new Reichstag, last month, that will obey his dictates. Such a situation cannot be permanent, but it has been caused by the refusal of Europe to undo the mistakes of the Versailles settlement. France is not under a dictatorship, and will hold a free and untrammelled election in the present month.

Kept in the Dark

It would promote the desired cause of a peaceful and harmonized Europe if the people of the leading countries were served by honest, uncensored, and intelligent newspapers. Visitors to Europe this summer will find not only that there is virtually no American news in the continental press, but that the reader can obtain no survey even of European news that compares in completeness and reliability with the foreign news services of our own papers. This remark is not meant to apply to the British press, which is uncensored and intelligent, although not so enterprising as our American newspapers, and painfully lacking in real news from the United States. A reader in New York or Chicago (or any other city in this country) is much better informed day by day about conditions in France and Germany, in Italy and Ethiopia, or in Manchukuo and Outer Mongolia than are Frenchmen, Germans, Italians or Russians who read the newspapers of Paris, Berlin, Rome, and Moscow.

French newspapers represent various parties and factions, and sputter volubly and excitedly about French politics. They are in general agreement upon only one subject: they insist upon the sacredness of the Versailles Treaty, and they believe that the chief object of the League of Nations, that ought never to be forgotten, is to keep Germany from regaining advantages and possessions sacrificed in the peace treaty of 1919. The French people have never been allowed by their politicians or by their newspapers to understand that public opinion in other countries, however friendly to France, does not believe that it is the business of the world at large to aid in keeping the German people forever restricted and humiliated.

It has seemed impossible to the lucid and logical mind of the typical Frenchman that the American public should not look at conditions along the Rhine through French spectacles. There is an old saying that "two wrongs do not make one right." Mr.



Saavedra Lamas, who will preside at the Latin American Conference.

Hitler should have shown more deference to the Locarno agreements, although he was evidently sincere in holding that the new military alliance between France and Russia was in moral violation of Locarno peace understandings. Germans of all sorts felt themselves compelled to assert fundamental rights within that part of their country lying beyond the Rhine. Just after Hitler had effected his symbolic re-militarization of the Rhineland, the French government and the French newspapers were painfully shocked by an utterance emanating from Washington.

Talking Sense

The versatile wife of the President has an irrepressible fondness for activity and self-expression in the field of public affairs. She speaks almost daily before audiences, and is heard with undoubted approval. She is not pretentious, but is always straightforward; and she is, without dispute, by far the best and most consistent advocate of the social-security policies and welfare programs that are involved in what is known as the "New Deal". Mrs. Roosevelt has spoken infrequently about foreign affairs and conditions. But since war menace has superseded all other topics in Europe, and has gained the lead over presidential politics in this country as a newspaper topic, Mrs. Roosevelt has made some strikingly sensible talks on the subject of peace.

It is one thing, however, to make extemporaneous remarks before an audience of women (to be casually reported by the local society editor) and quite a different thing to set down in writing, for deliberate contribution to the newspapers, an opinion on a matter of international controversy. Mrs. Roosevelt for some time past has written a daily narrative, highly personal, under the title



Mrs. Roosevelt expresses herself with ease in type or on the air.

"My Day", that is widely syndicated by the Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance. In the following sentences she expressed the views of an American woman upon the desperate anxiety that had taken control of French opinion:

"No one denies that the Versailles Treaty was unjust in many ways and that revision should be made. It is quite evident that Germany has ignored the agreements under the Locarno pacts; but it seems more profitable to talk this over than to fight it out again to an unsatisfactory finish, and to have another peace built on revenge and fears."

It is likely that 99 per cent of our American women, and 98 per cent of men of all classes and parties in the United States, would endorse Mrs. Roosevelt's remark as both sensible and just. But it was hard for the French to understand that Mrs. Roosevelt speaks her own mind as a private citizen, and is not writing for the newspapers day by day as a White House official, or a member of the Department of State. Many Americans are still optimistic enough to believe that the French and German peoples will not fight, but will learn to cooperate with one another before permitting themselves to be drawn into another destructive war.

The Empire Game

A reformed League of Nations might be developed if the empires were excluded. The British position was so inconsistent when first the League of Nations was invoked to interfere with the Japanese policies in Manchuria that Japan promptly withdrew from Geneva. Italy has repeatedly threatened to resign from the League of Nations because the British were using the League to con-

demn the Italian campaign against Ethiopia, while the British Government was obviously caring less than nothing about the rights of Ethiopia as a member of the League, but caring everything about British control of the Nile valley and the Suez Canal, and Britain's naval dominance in the Mediterranean.

It is impossible to play the empire game while honestly pursuing the paths of peace through recourse to the League of Nations. The two things are entirely inconsistent. The United States was organized as a kind of league of nations by its original thirteen members. It expanded across the continent until it had forty-eight members. Let us suppose that Texas had retained an army and fleet of her own, and was filibustering for control of Mexico and the Central American units. Let us suppose that Oregon and Washington had managed to seize and keep control of British Columbia and other parts of western Canada. Let us suppose that New York and New England had joined in a project to take control for themselves of eastern Canada, including the Province of Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, Newfoundland and the Labrador coast.

Under such conditions what sort of influence would Texas, New York and Oregon exercise at Washington as members of the league that is

called the United States of America? As matters stand, the small country known as the Irish Free State has a higher moral influence upon the public opinion of the world, as represented at Geneva, than has the government of Great Britain. While pretending to punish Italy for a war of conquest in Africa, the governments of England and France have pursued policies shamelessly insincere. They have actually promoted Mussolini's policy of conquest, while seeming to oppose it. They have been merely grudging in their unwillingness to accord to the Italians anything like the full extent of Mussolini's apparent ambitions.

The attention of the larger British public has usually been focussed on domestic questions, in order to allow the imperialists to govern the seas and rule the empire in their own undisturbed fashion. But from time to time the British public gets glimpses of the truth about external situations; and there is no check upon free speech in the House of Commons or in the press. It is not for us in the United States to interfere in these matters. But we have our own interests to safeguard, and we ought to be intelligent about British policies. Also, we should be merely asinine to shut our eyes, ears and mouths to the treatment of the debt question by the British authorities.

Can any new taxes ever fill the executive pork-barrel?

After a fishing vacation in southern waters that kept him away from Washington for about three weeks, President Roosevelt was at his desk again before the middle of April. He returned to find Congress wrestling over the principles as well as the details of his taxation proposals that we discussed last month in our editorial comments.

The President's demand for resumption of processing taxes, to carry out the unfulfilled contracts of the AAA Bureau, has suffered no little loss of prestige. Certain facts came to light on the insistent demand of Senator Vandenberg and some other critics. Month after month in these pages we have asserted that the distribution of AAA money bore little actual relation to the welfare of farm families throughout the United States. Secretary Wallace fairly dazzled us with economic generalities; but he never had a word to say about the fellows to whom he was sending the large checks. In point of facts, carefully concealed, all the poor people of the United States were being

heavily taxed on their bread, meat and clothes in order to give fat checks, a number of them running into six figures, to corporations or individuals exploiting wheat areas or cotton lands. Some of these enterprises were owned and controlled in Europe. To suppose that such practices could forever be kept from public knowledge was, of course, preposterous. The President's so-called "windfall" taxation was planned to complete payments, at the universal expense, to these millionaire producers, none of whom are farmers in the proper sense of the word.

One of our contributors this month, the well-known economic authority, Joseph Stagg Lawrence, explains to our readers the nature of the pending tax measures that comprise a raid upon the financial reserves of industrial enterprises, great and small. It is the opinion of most people who understand business affairs that taxation of this kind is unsound in principle, and both unwise and dangerous as worked out in the bills now under consideration.

As a sequel to the unconditioned gift of \$4,800,000,000 made by Congress to the President last year, to be distributed at his pleasure for the comfort and relief of people who could show that they were (willingly or unwillingly) detached from gainful occupation, a further sum is requested to be available during the coming fiscal year. The public does not know upon what principle or by what methods last year's billions have been distributed, nor how much of the amount is still available. The new grant, as requested, is limited to the comparatively small sum of fifteen hundred million dollars (\$1,500,000,000).

There are several ways by which this financing of relief could be arranged. We have now the plan of uncontrolled distribution by whim of the President or of his bureaucratic subordinates, especially Mr. Harry Hopkins. Early last year Congress was intending to provide its own plan for relief payments, along with the appropriation of money. But this more usual method was abandoned at the President's request. Does the public now believe that the Executive "pork-barrel" is preferable to the old pork-barrel methods of distribution by Congress itself? A third method—the obviously decent and efficient one—would be the plan of leaving relief to the separate states, while giving them the benefit of federal credit at low rates of interest.

Floods and Relief

With the break-up of the most severe winter, in every quarter of the country, that has been experienced for many years past, there came destructive floods in March and April, along with violent tornadoes in Georgia and some other states. The mechanism of relief through the Red Cross and other agencies was readily available, and inundated districts were brought back to the normal with unexpected rapidity. The restoration of Pittsburgh, for example, in a period of about two weeks, was one of the most striking instances of its kind in contemporary history.

Thousands of bridges were swept away throughout the country, but everywhere the spirit of optimism and vigorous determination quickly restored railroad and highway traffic. These widespread disasters absorbed public attention for some time, and made neighbors forget their political differences in the early stages of a campaign year.

As May approached, farm life and work resumed great activity. Secretary Wallace began to warn millions of farmers that they were going to produce too much food. He begged them to adopt voluntary curtailment.

An unfriendly Supreme Court had deprived him of his power to enforce his doctrine of food scarcity. There was clear danger that the consuming public might have bread and meat at moderate prices, and that there might be plentiful milk for city children. One wonders if the true history of farm policy under the official auspices of Henry Wallace will ever be written, for the amusement and instruction of an incredulous world.

No reader interested in politics

Now a new political party ... farmer...labor...Rooseveltian.

The Democratic party, in contrast, is a coalition of discordant elements, huddled conveniently under a great name. It was captured by the Bryan radicals in 1896. A few years later it was captured by the old-line conservatives, who nominated Alton B. Parker of New York as a doctrinal successor of Grover Cleveland. In 1920 it was captured by the internationalists, supporting Woodrow Wilson's ideals. In 1928 the city-dwellers led by Tammany Hall captured the party, and nominated Al Smith in a crusade against prohibition.

In 1932 the country was suffering from a deadlock between an able Republican President and a wholly discordant and irresponsible anti-Republican Congress. The reaction elected Franklin Roosevelt on a sharply-written conservative platform, the chief architect of which was Senator Glass of Virginia.

In 1934 Franklin Roosevelt elected his own Congress by overwhelming majorities. The Republican party was weakened at the polls, and greatly reduced on Capitol Hill. But it was not demoralized or removed from the scene. Few people have stopped to consider that the mid-term election of 1934, leaving the Republican party intact, had wrecked and almost obliterated the Democratic party. The new House of Representatives was in no sense Democratic. It was completely Rooseveltian. Its laws were written by Felix Frankfurter and his disciples of the Rooseveltian Administration bureaucracies.

On the Bandwagon

The Senate was no longer Democratic. Its controlling majority was at the disposal of the Rooseveltian group, headed by George Norris of Nebraska, frequently supported by the venerable William E. Borah of Idaho. It was led by Joe Robinson of Arkansas, once nominally a Democrat but now the willing and obedi-

ent mouthpiece in the Senate of the Rooseveltian party.

There are two minorities in the Senate. One of these is the definite, clean-cut Republican group of which Vandenberg, Dickinson and several other well-known Senators are competent members. A smaller and less definite group, of which Senators Glass and Byrd of Virginia are members, represents the discouraged remnant of the Democratic party. If there is anything that Democrats hate it is to lose seats on the band-wagon. Most of the real Democrats, therefore, including the reluctant southern Senators, are giving lip-service to the new Rooseveltian party, because that party has gained full control of the machinery and the emblems that go with the Democratic name.

Gone Farmer-Labor

Mr. Clapper, who writes for us each month from Washington, has no partisan bias. If anything he is rather friendly to the Rooseveltian party. But he is a keen analyst, and he likes to tell the truth about political trends and changes. In its mass elements (Mr. Clapper finds) the Roosevelt party today is farmer-laborite, rather than Democratic in the sense of the platform of 1932. Governor Olson of Minnesota is said to be planning great things for his farmer-labor party in 1940. But perhaps Olson does not quite understand that Roosevelt has already captured the substance, and that the good old name "Democrat" is a far better title than the hyphenated one that has been current in the Dakotas, Minnesota, and Wisconsin. The political descendants of Bryanites and Populists, including those who hark back to Debs and the elder LaFollette, have enrolled themselves under the Roosevelt banner in great blocs.

This new party will nominate Roosevelt by acclamation at Philadelphia, and will accept Roosevelt's platform

in whatsoever terms he may choose to have it written. The Bryan crusade of 1896 was financed by the silver-mine owners, with headquarters at Denver. The Roosevelt crusade of the present year is financed by funds approximately one thousand times greater than any amount the Republicans can raise to support their ticket and platform. All politicians know that the five-thousand-million-dollar relief fund voted last year has been distributed in every nook and corner of the United States under local Democratic auspices, in such a way as to make the defeat of Franklin Roosevelt next November seem to be as impossible as it would have been to defeat Hitler in the German plebiscite.

Any reader may look about him in his own city, county or township, and form his own opinion on this point. He will know as much about it as most other people—although, for our part, we think that Jim Farley, with his control of the machinery from top to bottom, knows more about it than anyone else.

Cross-Currents

It would seem likely that the Republican party will merely represent those views that were held in common by Republicans and Democrats alike for a long period, extending through the campaign of 1932. To speak frankly, we should regard Borah's adventures as a Republican contestant as intended chiefly to create confusion. Mr. Borah supported Mr. Roosevelt in 1932; and if he should be nominated by the Republican convention at Cleveland, many consistent Republicans would much prefer to vote for Roosevelt. Mr. Borah has no fitness whatever for an executive office, but he is a notable personage when he rises to speak on the floor of the Senate. It is to be supposed that he will seek reelection as a Senator in November, resuming his natural place in the western farmer-labor movement as a cordial supporter of President Roosevelt.

With such candidates as Governor Landon, Colonel Knox, Senators Vandenberg and Dickinson, and other regular members of the party whose names may be presented at the Cleveland convention, the Republicans should have no difficulty in agreeing upon a ticket and a platform. It is to be remembered that they cannot this year under any circumstances regain control of the Senate. They have reason to expect that they may largely increase their membership in the House of Representatives.

Let the political pot boil as it will. The conventions will soon make their

decisions, and we shall then have more than four months for a campaign that must sorely test the principles of orthodox Democrats.

Four years ago the Democrats in convention at Chicago adopted on June 27 a terse platform, most of which might serve Republican purposes this year. The late Gilbert Hitchcock of Nebraska was chairman of the Resolutions Committee, but Senator Glass of Virginia is credited with the construction of this unambiguous document. Mr. Hull, Mr. Roper, Mr. Shouse and various others had their share in formulating that series of resolutions.

Possible Platforms

The Republican platform of 1932, defending the Hoover administration, was a far longer document. It contained about eight thousand words. It was a composite affair, with Ogden Mills largely responsible for it, while President Hoover undoubtedly shared in its preparation.

Mr. Roosevelt's administration has been as different from anything contemplated in the Democratic platform as could have been foreseen. Those who like it will vote for Mr. Roosevelt, and he will be his own platform. Those who do not like it will stay at home on election day, or will vote the Republican ticket.

Neither party can construct a platform that will have any decided influence. The Cleveland convention might be content to say: "We are opposed to the manner in which Franklin Roosevelt has waived the Constitution, subordinated Congress, ignored the position and authority of the States in our system, needlessly increased the public debt, and substituted personal authority for the kind of government that he was pledged to uphold by his oath of office." The Philadelphia platform might well begin and end as follows: "We endorse in all respects the government of the country that President Roosevelt has carried on since March 4, 1933, and we demand its continuance for at least another term of four years without at this time raising the question of additional consecutive terms."

Pressure Groups

When President Roosevelt returned after his absence of nearly a month he found that his Congress was by no means prepared to close shop. The Townsend Plan was under a kind of investigation that brought unpleasant things to light. Roosevelt's proposed taxation of the reserve funds of corporations was causing delay and producing unhappiness. Harry Hopkins was eager to have the new Adminis-

tration relief bill passed; but many Congressmen preferred Secretary Ickes's methods to those of Hopkins, and demanded that half the proposed amount should be set aside for genuine public works. It was not likely that Congress could adjourn until June. The Republican presidential ticket will be launched two weeks before the Rooseveltian Convention meets at Philadelphia on June 23.

No third-party movement of any consequence is in sight. The organized "pressure groups" are safely shepherded by the astute Mr. Farley. Grover Cleveland once used a phrase that would today only amuse the "hard-boiled" and enrage the "soft-boiled". "The cohesive power of public plunder" was regarded by Mr. Cleveland as a thing to be exposed and reprobated. But it is a power evidently relied upon to carry this year's election.

The Townsendites are strong in Idaho, and the amiable Doctor Townsend early last month announced his acceptance of Borah as his choice among presidential candidates. It may be predicted, therefore, that they will send Borah back to the Senate; and, long before the election in November, we shall expect them to make their way into the Roosevelt camp, under the white flag of surrender.

Petty Tyranny

In a variety of ways, some of them too subtle to be readily exposed, continued attempts will be made to impair the freedom of political discussion and criticism. The Liberty League, for example, is a small organization supported chiefly by genuine Democrats. The part it has recently taken in public discussion is straightforward and sincere. Its modest expenditures have been met by voluntary contributions, chiefly from the pockets of a few generous citizens. But official authority at Washington, spending billions of public money for political objects, has been attempting to silence criticism by invidious personal attacks upon the reputation of private citizens who dare to express dissent.

Dictatorships in Europe do not allow the slightest disagreement with their policies. Are we to permit that sort of thing in America? It will be a bad thing for the United States when free discussion is at an end. Extravagance and waste can be endured, though they will lead to ultimate dishonor and debt repudiation. But the tyranny of petty bureaucrats, misusing official power and persecuting individuals for daring to tell the truth about government activities, is a thing that is not to be tolerated—unless, indeed, we have ceased to set value upon the constitutional guarantees of personal liberty.

ROOSEVELT'S NEW PARTY

BY RAYMOND CLAPPER

Democratic in name; socialistic in the opinion of some opponents; Farmer-Laborite in the judgment of this Washington observer. Its first hurdle is the November election, then years of consolidation.

SOME MINOR groups continue to talk and dream of a national Farmer-Labor party. But President Roosevelt has, in a sense, beaten them to it. True, he has not changed the name of the Democratic party, but under his hand its complexion has been altered until it is in fact a new party, dominantly farmer-labor in character.

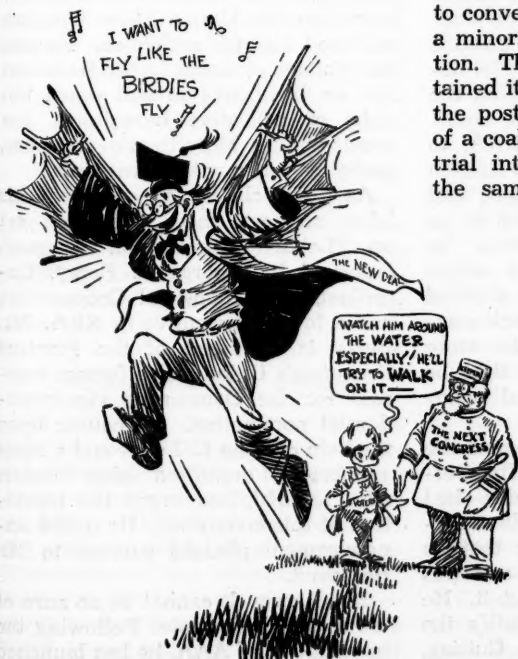
By all indications the President has so captured the farm country that it is doubtful if even the nomination by the Republicans this year of a middle-westerner like Governor Landon of Kansas will fatally alienate it. He has drawn the ranks of labor, always somewhat friendly, into closer formation behind him, even obtaining from the mighty United Mine Workers an unprecedented official endorsement.

This is perhaps the most significant development of the period. Mr. Roosevelt has been able to bring it about without alienating to any great extent the old foundations of the party. He has retained the southern states, which kept the party alive through so many dark years. Also he has retained in the main the allegiance of the northern municipal machines, such as Tammany Hall and that of Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City, which in one presidential election after another have constituted practically the only foothold of the party outside of the South. Thus, for the time being at least, Mr. Roosevelt has added to his party a new wing which quite overshadows the original structure.

The effect of this, while it lasts, is to convert the Democratic party from a minority into a majority organization. The Republican party maintained its supremacy through most of the post-Civil War period by virtue of a coalition between eastern industrial interests and western farmers, the same coalition which they are

trying to reconstruct out of the wreckage of 1932 by nominating a farm belt candidate for President this year.

This coalition between East and West persisted despite conflicts of interest on the tariff and on matters touching the relationship between debtor and creditor classes. It broke down under the stress of the depression and the western wing bolted to Roosevelt, giving him every state west of the Mississippi and most of those east of it. So long as the western wing remains in the Democratic party, the Republicans are likely to be in the minority, especially if labor remains as solidly attached to the Administration party as it has become under Mr. Roosevelt.



Carlisle in the Des Moines Register

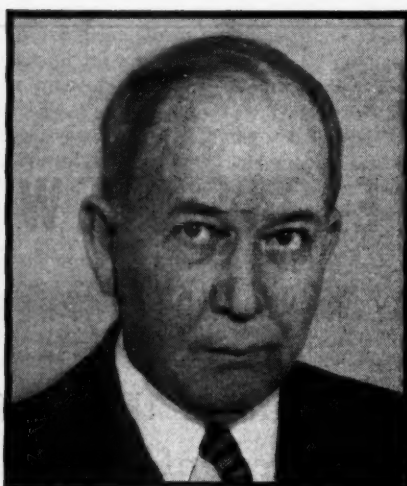
THE VOTER

Congress and its relationship to the Roosevelt Administration is at last attracting the attention of the voter. Will a new Congress check soaring executive aspirations?

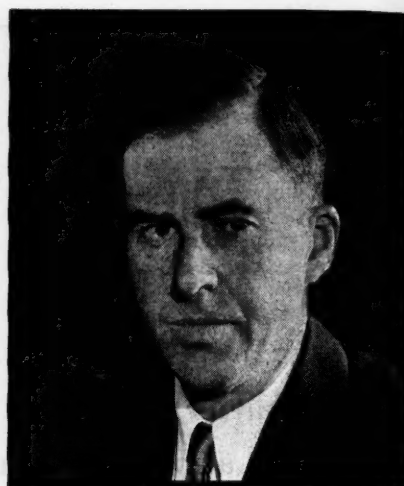
..farmers..



Photos by Keystone



Edward A. O'Neal of the Farm Bureau. Chester C. Davis at the left.



Secretary of Agriculture Wallace, who now calls himself a Democrat.

The question is whether the change which Mr. Roosevelt has thus wrought will stand or disintegrate; for it must be remembered that this shift has taken place amid much anguish. It has been vigorously resented by a number of former leaders of the party. Two presidential nominees of past campaigns, Alfred E. Smith and John W. Davis, are open in their rebellion. They have been supported by others such as the late Albert C. Ritchie, former Governor Ely of Massachusetts, and the former party executive chairman, Jouett Shouse. Furthermore, the change has been resented by a great number who have remained technically within the fold, men like Senator Carter Glass and Senator Millard Tydings. They trail along under protest.

While these men are not likely to cause Mr. Roosevelt to lose many votes in the coming election—certainly no decisive loss—it must be emphasized that they have prestige and personal force. After the 1936 election is over and the struggle begins within the party for future control, their influence is likely to become stronger.

Aided by Depression

This change which has been taking place in the Democratic party accounts for much of the heated political talk which we have been hearing. Smith is protesting against it when he denounces the President for setting class against class. Mr. Roosevelt is trying to cement his farmer-labor recruits when in his message on the State of the Union he pillories big business and the Tories. So is Democratic National Chairman Farley when he attacks bankers and large business leaders as "unprincipled brigands". The spokesmen of these traduced groups show their resentment at being fed to the lions like

the early Christians on a Roman holiday.

Circumstances have aided materially in making it possible for President Roosevelt to bring about this realignment. It could not have been done when conditions were normal, probably, and that suggests the possibility that the realignment may not survive a return to normal economic conditions.

Before the New Deal was—so far as public information went—much more than a campaign slogan, a wholesale walkout from the Republican party occurred, giving Mr. Roosevelt all except six states. It was a protest against Hoover, against the party, and against conditions.

Mr. Roosevelt's part in the process began after he was inaugurated. Republicans had talked about doing something for the farmer ever since the war. Roosevelt shoved through AAA, and shortly benefit checks began to go into the mailboxes on the R.F.D. routes throughout the country. For labor he set up NRA, to bring about reemployment, to shorten hours, put a bottom to wages, and establish collective bargaining as an officially recognized institution. In countless other measures, he sought to ease the burden of the deflated debtor classes, to curb the stock market, and to bring about the more abundant life. At the same time he instituted a far more liberal policy of relief.

It is immaterial here to discuss the success of these measures. Their effect upon the groups which had massed behind the Roosevelt candidacy was to convince them that he had their interests at heart and was trying to do something about it. He was making an effort to justify the faith of Norris, LaFollette, Cutting, Hiram Johnson, Ickes, Wallace, and the millions of voters who switched over from the Republican column to

elect him. Although veteran Democratic leaders have rebelled, none of these new recruits has wavered in his allegiance. In the mid-term elections in 1934, the same forces which elected the President even increased the Democratic majorities in the House and Senate.

NRA and AAA

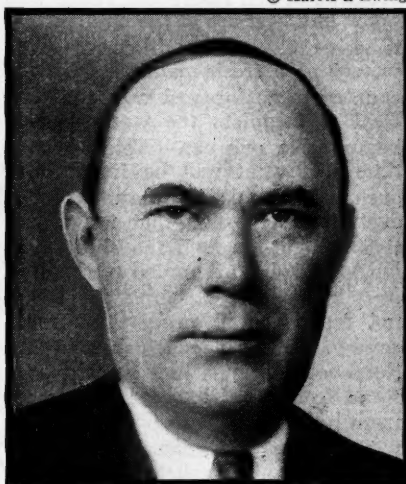
Now Mr. Roosevelt approaches the more critical test. Will he be able to hold this coalition behind him through the coming campaign? At this writing, the belief of a great many observers is that he will. As for labor, it has never had an administration so active in its behalf. After the collapse of NRA, Mr. Roosevelt forced through the Guffey Coal Act, creating a "little NRA" for the bituminous industry. In return the United Mine Workers endorsed him for reelection. He put the Wagner National Labor Relations Act on the books to nail down the right of collective bargaining, the courts willing. More than ever before, probably, labor will be with him.

As a vehicle for encouraging this labor support, there has been set up "Labor's Nonpartisan League", launched by George L. Berry, Coordinator for Industrial Cooperation, and a former executive in NRA. Mr. Berry is president of the Printing Pressmen's Union and a former aspirant for the Democratic vice-presidential nomination. He counts upon the help of John L. Lewis and a large number of organized labor leaders who, he said, had urged the formation of this committee. Its initial announcement pledged support to Mr. Roosevelt.

Mr. Roosevelt cannot be so sure of the massed farm vote. Following the invalidating of AAA, he has launched the soil conservation program. As this new approach to the farm problem is still in the preliminary stages,

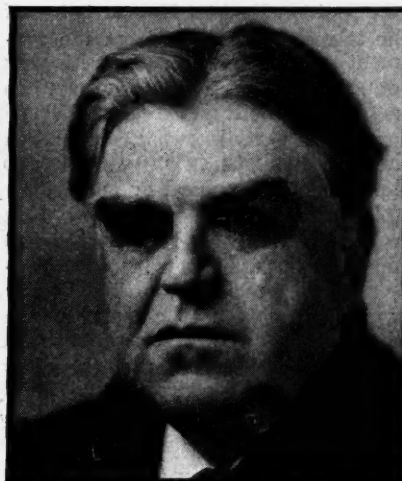


Sidney Hillman, backer of Labor's Non-Partisan League for F. D. R.



Major Berry, American Industrial Coördinator. John L. Lewis at right.

.. laborers ..



© Underwood & Underwood

its effect upon the state of mind of the farmers cannot be accurately assessed.

The plan has been endorsed in principle by many Republican leaders, including former President Hoover and the probable Republican candidate, Governor Landon. However, it is likely that benefit payments under the new program will be considerably curtailed in the wheat and corn-hog areas and will be increased materially in New York and New England, where AAA benefit payments were almost non-existent.

Possibly some disaffection will result from the publication of vast inequalities in the size of AAA benefit checks. But the most probable guess is that such disaffection as develops in the farm belt will arise not so much from criticism of farm relief efforts as from dissatisfaction with other Administration policies, such as waste and heavy spending, and, in certain localities like Wisconsin and the Pacific Northwest, over the Canadian reciprocal trade agreement.

Another factor is Senator Borah, and the possibility that he might bolt the Republican ticket. There are two elements of uncertainty here. One is whether he will bolt. The other is the extent of his influence in event he does bolt.

Roosevelt the Issue

In part, the Borah candidacy is pointed at liberalizing the Republican platform—that is, shaping it so as to appeal more strongly to the farmer-labor following which deserted the party in 1932. It is common to overemphasize the effect of platform controversies and actions. They receive voluminous attention in the daily press, but it is questionable if platforms have anywhere near the political influence which is usually attributed to them.

Long ago the party platform had become a joke. Even James G. Blaine testified to that. He wrote this: "The resolutions of a convention have come to signify little in determining the position of a President or a party. Formerly the platform was of first importance. Diligent attention was given, not only to every position advanced, but to the phrase in which it was expressed. The presidential candidate was held closely to the text. Now the position of the candidate, as defined by himself, is of far more weight with the voters."

In a famous study of political parties, M. Ostrogorski said the platform has become "the biggest farce of all the acts" of the American party convention, presenting "a long list of statements, relating to politics, in which everybody can find something to suit him, but in which nothing is considered as of any consequence by the authors of the document, as well as by the whole convention."

The truth of these observations has been keenly impressed upon the country by the wide departure of President Roosevelt's New Deal from the Chicago platform of 1932.

No, it is not likely that the Republican platform battle will have much effect upon the electorate. The Democratic platform will, of course, be dictated by President Roosevelt. And the voters, as usual, are likely to cast their votes for or against the man in the White House, without being too much concerned about the candidate opposing him. Certainly few question that it would have made much difference who the Democrats nominated against Hoover in 1932.

So much for the present. Looking into the future, it is possible to discern the shadowy outlines of another conflict, destined perhaps to be more decisive in its long-range effects than the election which is about to take

place. That conflict is to be over the future complexion of the Democratic party. It will take place whether Mr. Roosevelt is reelected or not. Its outcome will for a long time influence American politics and the main stream of our political currents.

The purpose of this contest will be to determine whether the modern New Deal or the old-fashioned Jeffersonian Democracy shall capture the machinery which is now in control of the Roosevelt group. The New Deal faction will be much weaker if it loses the election. But even if it wins, it faces a struggle.

On the Bandwagon

A party organization is a vast and complicated affair. It is difficult to build. But once in existence, it is a tough and resilient structure, capable of being transferred from one faction to another almost bodily. Hoover took the Republican organization over from his enemies in 1928. In 1932, the Democratic organization was transferred overnight from Smith-Raskob-Shouse control into the hands of their bitter enemies, the Roosevelt-Farley group. True, a successful candidate must pick up a great many wandering votes not controlled by either party organization. Yet he cannot hope to win an election without one of these national political machines under him. They form the bone structure and the muscular system without which any amount of favorable public sentiment becomes mere flabby flesh.

A President in office in his first term, if he is any kind of a politician at all, controls his party organization. He has the great scepter of patronage, holds within his hand the hopes of all party workers for favors to come, has the power of rebuke, punishment, of exile from the pie-counter, not to mention the tremen-

dous force inherent in the prestige of the White House.

But if he is defeated—well, you see the position Herbert Hoover is in. If he is reelected, he is, from the moment the result is known, on his way out. It may take him four years to get out, but he is on the way. Everyone in the party knows the date when he will be back in private life, no longer able to reward or punish.

Therefore, from election day on, his control of the party comes more and more to depend upon his own personal grip, upon the personal loyalty which he is able to command. He does have some leverage through the mid-term elections two years after the presidential election. And there are still appointments to be made. But the law of diminishing returns has set in, and it operates with increasing momentum as his last four years sweep by into history.

In Roosevelt's Hands

President Roosevelt's control over his party has been highly personalized, reinforced by popular strength. There is deep, often ill-concealed conflict between the President's appointive family and the party leadership in Congress. Secretaries Wallace, Ickes, and Perkins are in constant conflict with committee chairmen of the House and Senate. As the president's patronage dispenser, Postmaster General Farley has made many ingrates and more enemies. Hopkins and Tugwell are under fire frequently from the Democratic membership in Congress. Senate Majority Leader Robinson, although a loyal soldier, is generally understood in Washington to be personally lukewarm about many New Deal measures which it has been his duty to steer through the Senate.

Leaders in the House and Senate attain their positions of legislative power through seniority, hence a large proportion of them are old-fashioned Southern Democrats who have been in Washington for many years. To them the New Dealers are a crowd of interlopers bearing strange and dubious ideas. After the next election it is likely to be each man for himself in Congress, and anyone who knows the real complexion of the party membership in Congress knows that it is an uncertain factor in such a struggle as is coming. In other words, before the issue of control of the organization is reached directly, a battle over policy, legislative policy, is probable. The outcome of that will have its effect upon the contest over party control.

Involved in this legislative contest between Congress and the President is another question—the second term

program of Mr. Roosevelt. Those who know him best are of the opinion that if he is reelected he will construe the victory as a fresh mandate from the country to go forward with the New Deal to complete the work already begun. No one can foretell at this time just what will be included in such a program. For one thing however, it is expected that the objectives sought through the short-lived NRA will be attempted through a new approach. Reemployment has not responded in proportion to recovery. It is inconceivable to Mr. Roosevelt's friends that he will continue from year to year asking for fresh billions to feed the unemployed without attempting some constructive reemployment measure, coupled perhaps with revision of the anti-trust laws in order to achieve a better co-ordination of industrial effort. Confidential studies of these problems are going forward now and it is the expectation in Washington that the whole question is to be reopened.

Few think that the constitutional issue is buried. President Roosevelt firmly believes that the federal government must have more power over social and economic affairs than the Supreme Court has been willing to allow it. It is possible that vacancies may occur on the Court which will permit Mr. Roosevelt, if he is reelected, to alter its complexion sufficiently to obtain approval of further Administration legislation. On the other hand, it is also possible that he may feel impelled to seek a more basic remedy for the impasse which has been reached. No definite opinion appears to have crystallized on this question, and the Administration's attitude may be determined largely by further developments.

It is probable also that Mr. Roosevelt will seek a more thorough overhauling of the tax structure in event he has four years more. Tax legislation now pending, enacted on the eve of a political campaign, is not likely to be satisfactory except as a temporary compromise.

Struggle for Power

But more fundamental than any specific question of legislative policy is the age-old conflict between the legislative and the executive branches. This promises to burst forth soon with greater fury than ever. Congress has been in eclipse since March, 1933. It has, smarting with wounded pride, been compelled to rush through legislation written by young lawyers in the executive branches. It has had to appropriate large sums in blank to be allocated by the executive. It has been asked to delegate powers and has done it, only to be rebuked by

the Supreme Court. It has surrendered, in the reciprocal tariff act, the long-cherished prerogative of tariff-making. It yielded to Mr. Roosevelt the power to alter the gold content of the dollar.

There is no need to go into the merits of these surrenders, or their necessity. For present purposes it is only important that Congress has abdicated a great deal to the executive, and is getting into much the same mood that the Sixty-sixth Congress was in toward the end of the Wilson administration. It is a natural reaction which has its roots in human nature.

In a Second Term

All these considerations will make for hard going in a second Roosevelt term. A Republican President would have no easier time, in fact probably a harder one because the Senate will continue Democratic regardless of how the election goes. Since only one-third of the Senatorial terms expire this year, it is a mathematical impossibility for the Republicans to capture the Senate.

More troublesome as time goes on will be the scramble for the Roosevelt mantle. Of course there are some bitter souls who suspect Mr. Roosevelt will seek a third term if he is reelected. But no practical-minded person considers such a possibility. On the contrary, the general expectation is that the contest for the 1940 nomination will be intense. Mr. Roosevelt may seek, as the other Roosevelt did in 1908, to name his heir. Or he may, like Coolidge in 1928, keep aloof.

In either event, there will be ambitious persons determined to go after the next Democratic nomination in spite of heaven, hell, high-water, and Roosevelt. Only one who has seen such a scramble take place in Washington can appreciate its demoralizing effect upon the incumbent Administration.

If all this be thought premature discussion, it should be borne in mind that the men who play for the great stake of the presidency start to work long before the public is aware of it. Right now there is gossip as to which persons in the Administration have their eyes on 1940.

More important to the country, however, is the fact that we are entering the period when it will be determined whether the New Deal is to take root as a permanent structure on our political landscape, or pass into history as a fleeting episode—as unreal in retrospect, although leaving more substance behind it, as the fragile Progressive party of the first Roosevelt.

FROM NEW YORK TO OHIO

POLITICAL OPINION INTERPRETED

Our monthly survey of local opinion on national topics takes in the four populous and highly industrialized states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. It was once Republican territory.

WHEN THIS series was begun, last December, it was possible for a newspaper editor to discover topics of interest in his state that were outside the realm of politics. Not so nowadays; as we draw near to the national party conventions.

These are industrial states of the East that are under survey here, whereas last month it was an agricultural region centering around Kansas. In both instances it is territory long Republican, though won by Democracy in periods of turmoil.

Our four eastern states were unanimously Republican in the three presidential elections of 1900-08 and also in the three elections of 1920-28. Only as a result of the party split of 1912 and the revolt of 1932 did the opposition gain a foothold.

The four states are peopled by 33 million souls, more than one-quarter of the population of the entire country. They include 7 of our 18 largest cities—New York, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Cincinnati, and Newark. As a consequence, they are entitled to 125 votes in the electoral college, out of 531, a political prize worth fighting for.

Highly industrialized as they are, however, these states naturally have large agricultural areas. More than one-third of New Jersey is farm land, more than half of New York and Pennsylvania, more than four-fifths of Ohio. But it is not the kind of agriculture that brought checks in sufficient size to win converts.

Besides, though more than one-half of New York (for example) is farm land, only 1 person in 18 lives on a farm. The agricultural vote is becoming less important, except to turn the scale in a close contest. Even in Ohio, most agricultural of the four states, only 1 in 6 lives on a farm.

In contrast, these states furnish 3 out of the country's 12 Federal Reserve Banks, at New York, Philadelphia, and Cleveland. And the banks in those Reserve districts account for deposits of 4 billion dollars out of 6½ billion for the whole country.

The four states, furthermore, yield Uncle Sam, in income and corporation taxes alone, 530 millions out of last year's total of 1,000 millions for the whole country. Thus the interest of the voters in federal expenditures and taxation is paramount.

groups. It should be recalled that President Franklin D. Roosevelt is the first Democratic President who ever secured control of the old-time Tammany organization. This was achieved through the ouster of John F. Curry as Tammany leader and the selection of James J. Dooling.

Cleveland attempted the same political feat. So did Wilson. Both failed. Roosevelt was able to accomplish it through the energy of Postmaster General James A. Farley. But the final result may rob the achievement of that place in political history which it merits.

No matter what the leaders of the powerful Tammany organization may say and do, there will be a heavy loss of votes for Roosevelt; but Tammany will not do what the late Patrick Henry McCarren did in a stirring campaign just thirty years ago.

It will be recalled that after William Randolph Hearst was nominated for Governor at the Buffalo Democratic state convention in 1906, McCarren called a meeting to act upon the ticket. For more than an hour the brilliant head of the Brooklyn Democracy stood on the platform and denounced Hearst. Here was the climax of his speech:

"Mr. Chairman," declared Senator McCarren, "I would rather be a shackled prisoner, driven across the plains of Siberia by the lash of Cossacks, than vote for William R. Hearst."

"Mr. Chairman, I move the endorsement of the entire Democratic state ticket."

That will not be the Tammany procedure. The leaders will endorse the ticket and the platform with every outward show of enthusiasm. But will the rank and file follow? The disruption of one of the greatest political organisms ever known is of deep concern to thousands of Democrats. This machine was guided to its

A Republican City of New York?

BY OBSERVER

THE WRITER of the following prediction is a well-known editor of New York City, a trained political observer, whose newspaper arrangements will not permit the use of his name here.

THE NEXT Republican candidate for President will carry the five boroughs of the City of New York, with its population of more than 7,000,000 persons. Also the state of New York.

You need go back only as far as the Coolidge and Harding elections to find Republican pluralities for a presidential nominee in Greater New York.

Many factors combine to make the prediction a reasonable forecast, based upon the situation in the five boroughs or the five counties of the metropolis. Here is one aspect:

There is widespread disaffection in what may be termed the regular organization or strict Democratic party

full flower of development by the late Charles F. Murphy, a foremost political scientist of this generation.

It was Charles F. Murphy who inspired and encouraged men of the ability of former Governor Alfred E. Smith, United States Senator Robert F. Wagner, Surrogate James A. Foley and a company of brilliant young men, who cooperated with the leader in all successful Tammany campaigns during several decades.

Those men and others worked throughout the whole year for Democratic party success in November. They had a deep and abiding pride in the effectiveness of party activity. They never faltered.

Now factionalism has split the Tammany organization into groups. Thus it was easy for the Roosevelt administration to seize control and oust a leader. How can a party organism, attacked from within by rivalries, produce those voting majorities that made the city of New York an overwhelming Democratic stronghold?

Then, again, the pride of New York City Democrats, chiefly in Manhattan Borough, home bailiwick of Tammany, has been wounded deeply by seizure of control by Washington. This situation will have a deadly effect upon Democratic pluralities.

A serious tangle exists in Queens County, where Leader James Sheridan, held in power by national influence, is the perpetual target of insurgent or rival factions.

In Kings County (Brooklyn Borough) there is a different situation with respect to the solidarity of the party machinery. On the surface there is a degree of harmony. This has been accomplished, since the death of the famous old leader, John H. McCooley, by Frank V. Kelly, Public Administrator and a pupil of McCooley.

A tactician of the first degree, a political chief of high ideals and tireless energy, Kelly has revealed a firmer control and a more established domination than any leader of Democratic affairs in Kings County in a span of forty years or so.

Apart from the party machinery, there are independent forces in Brooklyn, wholesale disaffection and resentment against Roosevelt policies, that may wipe out the sweeping Democratic pluralities of recent years. The City of Churches has an independent history that has developed drastic overturns in political affairs. It would cause no surprise to political observers if it were to swing into the Republican column against Roosevelt in 1936, in the event of his renomination at Philadelphia.

The single Roosevelt stronghold in the City of New York is Bronx Borough. There Secretary of State Edward J. Flynn, also a political

scientist of the first rank, guides eight Assembly Districts. One of the smaller boroughs, in point of population, Flynn, who won his spurs in the State Assembly, has guided his area to the greatest of political honors. He has weaved his way successfully through the many complications, always emerging with the victors.

Flynn, ever alert, never forgets the end of the political path that he travels. Thus he has achieved national repute, deservedly. His success, too, should be credited to the development of native ability and to uncanny skill in locating victory and arriving in the neighborhood when the battle is over with his banners flying.

With factionalism rampant, with the Democratic organizations of the five boroughs in a weaker position than in other presidential campaigns of recent years, a Republican plurality against Roosevelt in New York City

is within the realm of probability.

A determining influence upon the result next fall—both in the city and the state—will be the attitude of independent voters. In some respect this army of electors, which makes its decision in harmony with convictions, holds the balance of power.

The independent voter made his influence effective in New York State at the elections last fall. The Assembly, or lower house of the legislature, was wrested from the Democrats. The majority party had held it with 77 votes, or only one more than the number required to organize the Assembly and to pass legislation. Now the Republicans have 87 members.

Unless the trend is reversed, which now seems unlikely, the independent voter will contribute importantly to a Republican national victory by carrying New York City and state out of the Democratic column next fall.

Upstate New York Turns from the New Deal

BY JEROME D. BARNUM
Publisher, Syracuse Post-Standard

UPSTATE NEW YORK can be counted upon by the Republican party this fall. Enthusiasm for the New Deal and President Roosevelt by city and country people has evaporated for definite and conclusive reasons.

Landon, Knox, Vandenberg, or Dickinson should get the normal upstate Republican vote because these voters are primarily against the New Deal and will not vote for it unless an unusual and unforeseen development occurs before election day. Landon has been more widely discussed as a Republican candidate than any of the others, notwithstanding the popularity of Borah with the farm people of the state.

These farm people leaned toward Borah earlier in the campaign because of their belief that he would carry out their ideas on monetary matters, which New York State farmers hold as vital for future prosperity. However, rural leaders now do not expect that Borah will be nominated and are concentrating their interests in a way that will assure that the Republican standard-bearer is definitely sympathetic to the farmers' viewpoint. All the candidates mentioned above fit into that picture.

There are several well-defined and conclusive reasons for the change in sentiment from four years ago.

In 1932, the farmers of upstate New York were suffering greatly from deflation. Many of them turned to Roosevelt, as is shown by the fact that Hoover's upstate plurality was only 273,000. When Roosevelt entered

upon his office and initiated the policies of economy and raising prices to the level at which debts were incurred, they supported him with marked enthusiasm. This was due to the fact that leaders of New York State farm organizations (and through them the farmers) were, and still are, firmly convinced of the rightness and soundness of the plan for "reflation" formulated by Dr. George F. Warren and Dr. Frank A. Pearson.

This plan, in brief, calls for raising the price level by advancing the price of gold. There is a definite relation between the two, according to the Cornell professor of agricultural economics. When the desired price level is reached, the currency would be placed upon a metallic basis once more, inflation prevented, and the price level maintained by raising or lowering the price of gold according to a formula to be adopted.

President Roosevelt did follow this policy until January 31, 1934. Then he dropped it incontinently and depended entirely upon the AAA. This alienated New York farmers. In the first place, it did not give them any aid. The per capita return from AAA to the Northeast was 22 cents. In the second place, it harmed them because it raised the price of feed and grain for dairy cattle and poultry.

The farmers saw that Roosevelt had stopped raising the price level and instead of following his promises of economy was spending the taxpayer's money at a record rate. In short, instead of bringing prices into

better balance, his policies were increasing the discrepancy between prices and debts. The farmers of the state generally turned from support to opposition. Their vote is important.

The same shift from the New Deal also is noted in the upstate cities. The urban resident was disillusioned by the unmistakable unsoundness of NRA. It had become a laughing-stock long before the Supreme Court decision invalidating it.

Then the operation of the AAA forced prices up artificially. The food budget of the city family increased markedly. Whatever the cause, whether drouth, devaluation or AAA, the city resident blamed it on AAA. Figures revealed that while residents of New York contributed millions in processing taxes, the returns to the state were in hundreds. AAA funds raised in the state by taxes on food amounted to \$90,000,000 but money returned in the form of benefits was less than one million.

This was followed by the spending program of the Administration. Spending is opposed by a majority of upstate residents emphatically. The average home owner or farmer realizes clearly that he will be paying for the debts for years to come and that his children will have to pay also.

The intensity of this feeling would not have been so great if there had been any conviction that the spending was accomplishing anything of worth. But employment figures showed little in the way of achievement in putting men back to work. In short, the country now has the extra debts and the unemployment too. And owners of homes and farms fear the possibility of destructive inflation because of spending.

WPA, a sample of the spending program, is highly unpopular. There are more jokes about its inefficiency than there used to be about Tin Lizzies. Further, evidence has been produced in many sections showing that the millions contributed by taxpayers are helping to provide jobs for Democratic officeholders and their families. The thrifty farmer or working family, helping to pay the bills, wants that money to go directly and wholly to unemployment relief.

Another factor in the shift in sentiment is that the average upstate resident, while he is not reactionary, is opposed to radical changes in government. They strongly oppose centralization and the steady growth in bureaucracy that has accompanied it.

The result of these things is a decided shift to the Republican party. It is marked by steady and growing opposition to spending and by insistence upon the principles of a balanced budget and initiation of the work of reducing government costs.



Citizens generally believe that this can be done by cutting out waste and inefficiency illustrated by WPA.

Upstate New York, both in country

and city, is normally heavily Republican. It will be so again this fall unless an unusual and unforeseen development occurs.

New Jersey's Bosses, Factions, and Commuters

BY ARTHUR J. SINNOTT

Editor, Newark Evening News

IN 1932 NEW JERSEY, caught in the Roosevelt sweep, departed from the Republican tradition and column for the first time in a presidential election since 1912 and Woodrow Wilson. The state gave Roosevelt a 30,000 plurality, where in 1928 it had turned in 309,000 for Hoover. The underlying causes which contributed to that turnover require no analysis here. The question of immediate concern is, can Roosevelt repeat?

On Roosevelt's side are Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City and his Hudson County machine. Hudson was largely responsible for Roosevelt's success in the state four years ago. Winning only four of the twenty-one counties, Roosevelt still carried New Jersey because Hudson amassed a plurality of 117,000 for him. That was by all odds the most effective performance Boss Hague ever brought off in a presidential election.

Hague is all the way for Roosevelt. There will be no repetition of his blunder four years ago, when he called Roosevelt the weakest candidate the party could nominate and predicted he would not carry a state east of the Mississippi. Hague has personally organized the Democratic delegates to Philadelphia for Roosevelt; he has challenged the authenticity of straw votes which indicated that the New Deal was slipping; and

he has reiterated his faith in the intention of New Jersey to do the right thing in November. His professed optimism, however, has not been supported by the private conversations of some of his close advisers.

Admittedly the flow of Washington easy money and federal patronage has helped to build up the Democratic state organization. It can stand repairs. Because in 1934 New Jersey (exhibiting one of its political contradictions) elected a Republican Governor, the Democrats suffered the customary losses in state patronage. Republicans in the state have charged—as where haven't they?—that WPA has been made an adjunct of the Democratic machine.

The disquietude of Hague's lieutenants does not spring from such accusations. The cause goes deeper. First, they are alarmed because of the widespread criticism of the costly and radical experiments of the New Deal. This hostility is particularly manifest in the metropolitan district which embraces Republican Essex, Bergen, Union and Morris counties. These counties are remarkable for a political phenomenon known as the Commuter Vote, cast by men and women who earn their livelihood in New York and hence inherit the prejudices and resentments which business directs against the Administration.

There are impressive indications the Commuter Vote this year will be unanimously against Roosevelt. It is a vote that generally restricts its formidable appearance at the polls to presidential elections. Up to 1932 it was overwhelmingly Republican.

In Camden and adjacent counties there are other commuters who work in the Philadelphia business district. They are an important component of South Jersey Republicanism which, party managers are sure, has recovered from the lapse of 1932.

The shifting allegiance of Jersey voters finds no better illustration than in the 1932 result, when, despite Roosevelt, they elected Senator W. Warren Barbour, a Republican, by 16,000. Two years later the state elected the Democratic Harry Moore to the Senate by 231,000 and a Republican Governor by 12,000.

The commuters are not the only potential threat to Roosevelt. There is Landon. Also there is a Republican organization that has submerged a bitter and personal internal fight to concentrate on his nomination. Hague and his organization leaders still hope to capitalize the dissension which resulted from the extraordinary action of the Republican State Committee in rebuking Governor Harold G. Hoffman. The state committee resented Hoffman's interference in the Hauptmann case and his failure aggressively to support the state economy recommendations brought in by a Republican legislative committee.

The Clean Government forces—an up-and-doing Republican faction which controls the party destinies in populous Essex and Bergen, and has influential affiliates in other central and south Jersey counties—accepted Hoffman as an at-large delegate when Hoffman agreed to accept Landon instead of an uninstructed delegation he had originally called for. In nothing else are the Clean Government people and Hoffman's machine on common ground.

If Landon is the nominee he will profit extensively by this cohesion. Industrial New Jersey is essentially conservative and prefers its presidential candidates that way. If the Republicans emerge from Cleveland with a conservative standard-bearer the Republican situation will be vastly improved over 1932. Landon is out in front in Jersey because of his reputation for cutting down government overhead. The Republican organization has only to retrieve these independents to carry New Jersey.

New Jersey farms have not been cultivated so assiduously by AAA. The checks have not been so numerous nor hefty as they have been elsewhere. Business has improved, payrolls have increased. But the Re-

publican propagandists have been working in day-and-night shifts to spread the doctrine that this has been in spite, rather than because, of the

New Deal. A Republican candidate pledged to conservatism and economy would take New Jersey away from Roosevelt, even with Hague.

Pennsylvania Studies Its Relief Rolls

By FRED FULLER SHEDD
Editor, Philadelphia Evening Bulletin

PENNSYLVANIA's legislature is to meet in special session early in May, for the purpose of providing \$70,000,000 of additional revenue to patch up the gap in the budget framed a year ago for a two-year period. The State Relief Administration warns that, if there shall not be immediate action, the entire relief roll will be without funds before the end of May. This means 190,000 homes without means for spreading the family table.

Official figures as of March 28 showed 192,261 cases on the state relief roll, and that there had been a net removal from the relief roll by transfer to WPA of 263,637 cases. This made a total of 455,898 cases dependent on government relief, whether in cash, food orders, or work. The all-time recorded high of relief distribution in Pennsylvania was 463,944 cases, in May, 1933. Thus there were about as many cases of dependency on government aid, state and federal, in Pennsylvania on April 1 as at any time since the depression started.

In ten counties in the eastern part of the state, including Philadelphia, there were 91,964 cases on the state relief rolls for the last week of March. There had been 4,358 cases taken off the roll that week, 2,914 put on, and 4,048 applications received.

It is significant that of the 2,914 cases added to the relief roll that week, 1,579 had been due to loss of private employment. Of the cases dropped from the roll, only 1,303 had benefited by new work or increased earnings in private employ.

No discussion of political trends in Pennsylvania can ignore this record of fact. How are these Pennsylvanians, dependent on government relief for their bread and butter, going to vote next November? At the low-

est reasonable estimate, there are three-quarters of a million voters directly involved in these relief rolls.

Whether or not politics can be kept out of relief, it is certain that relief cannot be kept out of politics.

To be sure, these beneficiaries of relief will not all vote the same way. Some of them will vote for the Administration that feeds them. Some of them, accepting the charity of federal and state government in utter necessity, are nevertheless insistent on their right to be independent and earn their own living, and will reject an Administration and its policies which, in three years, have not opened the gate of opportunity.

If this relief situation could be disregarded, the majority opinion among competent observers would be that the Republicans will win the state by a small margin. There has been a marked trend away from the New Deal, although the President is and has been stronger in Pennsylvania than his policies or his party.

Pennsylvania farmers took AAA checks of the several varieties, but it would be difficult to trace any lasting political effect of that distribution. Pennsylvania workers did not change their politics to any considerable extent because of NRA.

The Republican national ticket had a plurality of 157,592 in Pennsylvania in 1932, and there has been considerable disillusionment in the industrial sections of the state since 1933. There are greater earnings; there is more spending money, more trade in the stores, more people going to the movies. But it is not much easier to get a job now than it was three years ago, and the men who are out of work and their families cannot appreciate what others call recovery.

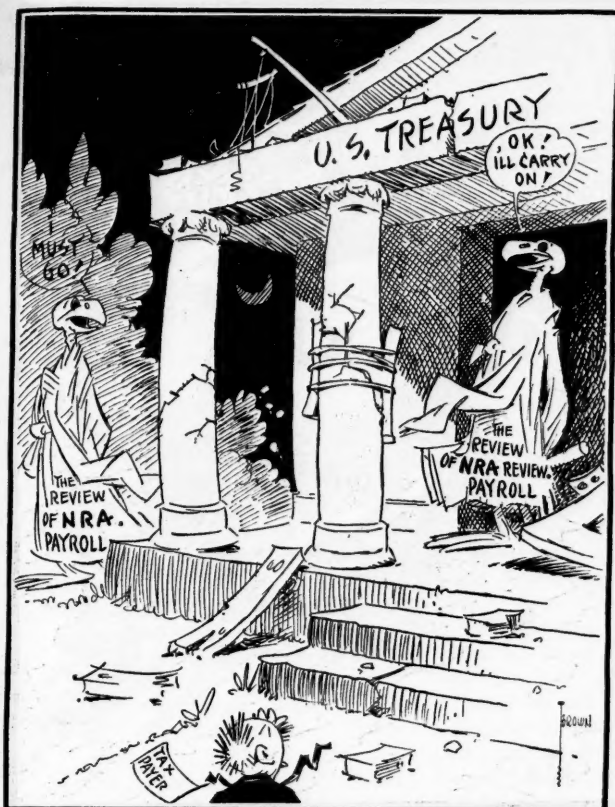
Nip and Tuck in Western Pennsylvania

By OLIVER T. KELLER
Editor, Pittsburgh Post-Gazette

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA is decidedly "doubtful ground" at the moment.

Traditionally it has been overwhelmingly Republican, but precedents went by the boards with the depression, and the great industrial area centering about Pittsburgh registered

its discontent at the polls. The "state" of Allegheny went for Roosevelt in 1932, and its 75,000 Democratic majority two years later assured that party of control of the state administration for the first time in forty years. The pendulum started to



By Brown, in the New York Herald Tribune

NRA The funeral has been paid for, but the upkeep of the NRA ghost is still a big item.



By Carlisle, in the Des Moines Register

WPA It isn't the heat, but the humidity, that makes the atmosphere so oppressive.



By Brown, in the New York Herald-Tribune

AAA Another troubled spirit leaves its grave, hungry, cold, and above all disillusioned.



By Essner, in the Rochester Times-Union

OGPU A new concept of private rights is tested, by dint of pulling a few wires secretly.

Conventions ahead! . . .



By Summers, in the Cleveland News

RIGHT

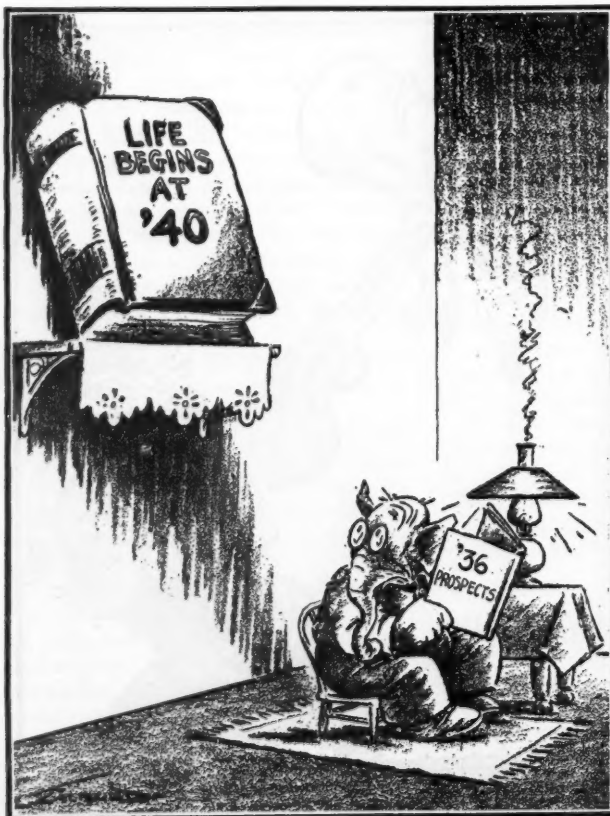
Conservatism may dominate the Republican convention, but it won't be so tame!



By Ray, in the Kansas City Star

LEFT

Wild and radical as the Democratic Party may be, there is no "mutiny on the bounty".



By Talburt, in the New York World-Telegram
Whichever party wins in 1936 will probably lose in 1940, so why worry?

LATER



By Fitzpatrick, in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch
The politicians are grooming their stalking horses, but the dark horse is well under cover.

NOW

swing back, however, in the local elections of 1935.

Naturally the Democratic organization is doing everything in its power to consolidate and hold its gains, as a strong showing in the western counties offers its one hope of carrying Pennsylvania's electoral vote this fall. It is using state, county and even WPA patronage ruthlessly to fortify its position—and superficially with some success, as the city registration figures showed marked Democratic gains. On paper the two parties are almost evenly divided in Pittsburgh; if the county is included the Republicans lead by about 40,000.

Republicans are beginning to emerge from the badly demoralized state which marked them in the past few campaigns, and efforts to bring factions together in a harmony program are meeting with some success.

Collapse of the G.O.P. in western Pennsylvania was not entirely due to the wave of Democratic sentiment, strong as it was. Independent voters were alienated by machine methods some years ago; and following the indictment and conviction of Pittsburgh's mayor in 1931, and a series of election scandals involving local leaders, many aligned themselves actively in the then minority party.

When the Democrats gained power, however, and began to apply machine methods themselves, the independent trek back to the Republicans started. It gained headway rapidly as a result

of the stupid effort of the new state administration to rip out of office Mayor William N. McNair, who was elected as a Democrat but surprised his sponsors by refusing to shake the plum tree for politicians.

This independent element is the real key to the situation in this western end of the state. Its original enthusiasm for the New Deal has withered; its resentment toward Democratic leadership is growing. But whether or not the reaction is strong enough to give the Republicans a majority depends upon what alternative that party offers.

The Democrats are counting heavily upon the miners' votes in the bituminous areas, and also upon the large numbers still unemployed and getting either direct or work relief. This will probably be offset in whole or part by the normal Republican vote in the rural communities. The AAA never meant very much to Pennsylvania farms, and the political tradition of years has stood pretty firmly in these districts. If Governor Landon of Kansas should be nominated, this trend would doubtless be even more pronounced, particularly since he was born in western Pennsylvania.

Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, of course, will be the center of the fight—and it promises to be unusually keen. There is no question that a Republican presidential candidate of progressive tendencies will greatly strengthen the party's chances here.

Ohio Political Outlook

By WALTER LOCKE
Editor, Dayton Daily News

AS MATTERS now stand, Ohio belongs with the doubtful states. Six months ago it was doubtful with a leaning against Roosevelt. Today it is doubtful with a leaning, rather decided, toward Roosevelt.

Ohio has never been the safely Republican state which its predominantly Republican alignment in presidential years might suggest. Hayes had less than 7,000 more votes than Tilden in 1876. Even in 1896, the year of the Bryan scare and of Mark Hanna's stupendous drive, McKinley in his home state bettered Bryan by fewer than 40,000 votes in a total of a million. Wilson carried the state against divided Republicans by a plurality in 1912, and then by a majority over a united opposition of nearly 100,000 in 1916. Ohio was heavily Republican as to President in 1920, 1924 and 1928; but came up with a majority of 75,000 for Roosevelt in 1932. Three times in the Republican 1920's, however, the state

elected a Democratic Governor.

During the long period when Republican candidates for President were carrying Ohio at two elections out of each three, the election of Democratic governors was almost a habit. In the last thirty-one years Ohio has elected but three Republican governors, and elected them for single terms only.

Ohio's predominant Republican presidential leaning has risen from the play of three special facts.

1. Its farmers—and agriculture is important in Ohio—were heavily Republican on two special counts: The Republican tradition going back to the Civil War; the Republican tariff on wool, long a leading Ohio crop. There is one rural county in Ohio once much given to sheep growing which is said, with exaggeration, to have tolerated at one time not a single Democrat. This bears its comment upon the current shock at the "buying" with crop subsidies of farmer

votes by the present Democratic Administration at Washington.

2. Ohio, preponderantly industrial, has had its leading industries subsidized by Republican tariffs. This has held the manufacturing class to the Republicans. In the past, these, as employers, had great influence with their employees and were able to lead vast numbers of them to the support of the Republican party.

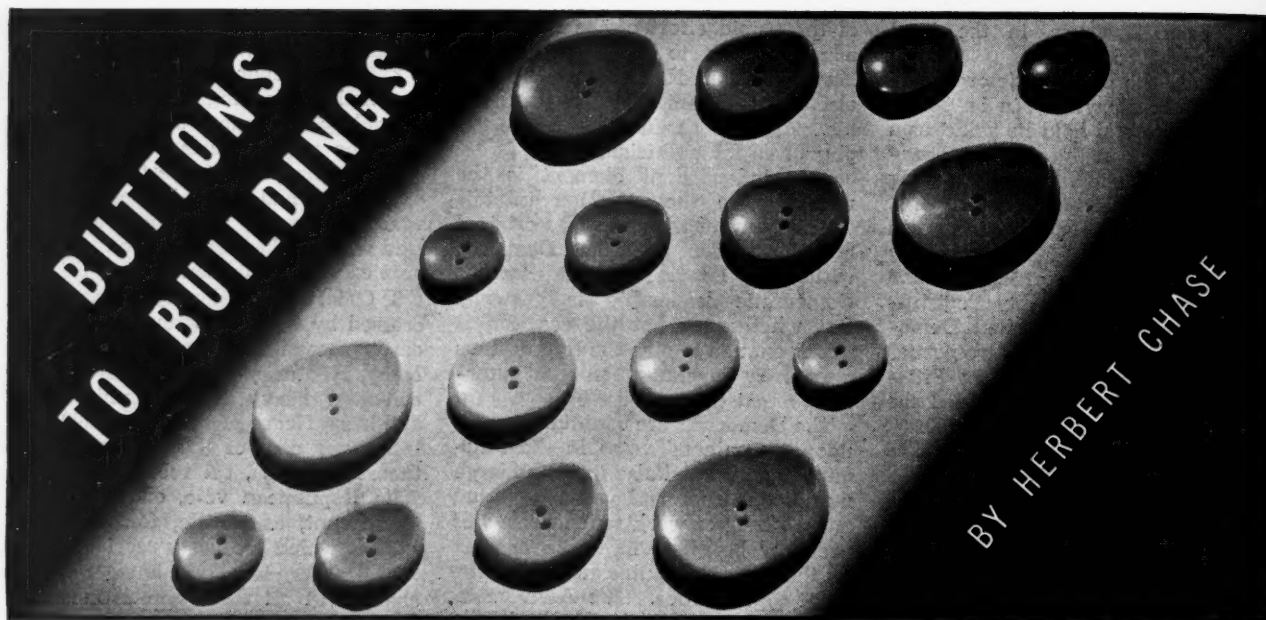
3. Ohio, an anti-slavery state, criss-crossed by the underground railroad, easily accessible from Georgia, Alabama, Kentucky and Tennessee, received a heavy Negro immigration and has a Negro population of 300,000—five per cent of the population of the state. This, till recently, was a solid Republican vote, enough alone to account, as a rule, for the majorities which the party received.

The years since 1929 have brought changes at all these points, most of them to the disadvantage of the Republicans. The farm subsidy comes now from another source, and a large proportion of the farmers are at this moment for the President because of farm relief. Labor, always the chief Democratic strength, tends to be more strongly Democratic than before.

Organized labor in Ohio, in view of the friendliness of this Administration, is for the President. Unorganized labor, left in such number unemployed after 1929, is less receptive to employer advice and influence than in past time. Those still unemployed are beholden to the Government for their bread and are predominantly friendly to the hand that feeds them. This involves, among others, the colored people. First to lose their jobs after 1929, they have been most dependent of all on the Government's help. The fact will be reflected this year in a split in the colored vote.

Spite of all these currents in Ohio to the disadvantage of the Republicans, Roosevelt, six months ago, was losing ground. For reasons commonly recognized he has been now for three months rapidly gaining again. The anti-New Deal campaign was prematurely brought to a peak. It has slumped. Roosevelt has been strengthened in Ohio by the later attacks of the Liberty League and by the decisions of the Supreme Court, both the adverse ones on NRA and AAA and the favorable one on the TVA. The waning of the Sinclair, Talmadge, Coughlin, Townsend, and Huey Long influence which once threatened to divest the Administration of important mass support has correspondingly strengthened the President.

Meanwhile no Republican candidate appeals as yet to the Ohio imagination. One begins to hear that Roosevelt will win because you can't beat anybody with nobody.



IF YOU ARE an average person you meet plastics twenty-four hours a day. We know of a man who awakens to the tune of a plastic alarm clock. Then removes his plastic toothbrush from a plastic holder. Afterward he goes briskly into the breakfast room, where he eats off plastic dishes, glancing meanwhile at baby's new plastic high-chair tray. Over his coffee he notes with satisfaction that the plastic buttons on his shirt and suit are intact after their experience with the cleaners.

Then he hurries to the garage, where a little cussing ensues if he discovers that the plastic lighting fixture was left on all night. Now, really late, he jumps behind the wheel, thankful that his wife has left a little gasoline—as indicated by the plastic gauge dial.

He gets the tank filled at a filling station from a gasoline pump having plastic parts, and for the remainder of the two-mile drive to the railroad he hums to the tune of his plastic-encased radio. On the train, which he barely makes, he disapproves heartily of a pert young miss sitting next to

PLASTICS are the basis of a new modern industry, wherein the chemist introduces the farmer to the manufacturer and new materials with many uses enter our everyday life, to serve in countless ways.

him because she is powdering and rouging, with a plastic compact's aid.

Go back fifty or a hundred years. Buttons then were made mostly from bone, wood, or shell. Such materials answered their purpose, but they would not be adequate for today's needs. More beautiful and more colorful materials are required now, especially for women's frocks and coats. Factory-made buttons, uniform in quality, easily formed into diverse shapes and available in uncounted colors are now turned out by the billion—in plastics.

A New Demand

Years ago, if you wanted a good billiard ball, ivory was the only satisfactory material. That involved hunting in the jungle, the payment of a high price, and considerable uncertainty in the supply. In consequence, a goodly prize was offered for a satisfactory substitute for ivory, and after much experimenting John Wesley Hyatt, in 1868, invented and produced the first of the modern synthetic plastics and called it Celluloid.

Since then this pyroxylin plastic, as the chemist calls it, has found thousands of uses. Yet that was "only the beginning, folks," as Captain Henry would say. Today this form of plastic is known everywhere. Scores of manufacturers produce the same basic type of material (over 16 million pounds were made in this country in 1935). Other plastics, however, have gained still wider use.

That early plastic took the place of many natural materials besides ivory, and it was long used chiefly as an imitation or substitute material. Not until recent years has full advan-

tage been taken of the inherent beauty of the material, as something to be prized for itself, and somewhat the same thing is true of other plastics.

Plastics were in their infancy when the electrical industry began to assume importance and called loudly for an inexpensive plastic that would make a good insulator. Several types of natural plastics were offered, amber, marble, slate and mica; but all these had decided limitations. The pyroxylin form of plastic was a good insulator, but it was expensive and highly inflammable and therefore had to be counted out for electrical applications.

Rubber, in both soft and hard form, proved to be an excellent plastic from some standpoints and of course is still used extensively for insulating purposes. Rubber, however, has well defined limitations. It is slow curing, softens under heat, and burns if ignited or raised to a high temperature. Other forms of plastic were needed. Shellac, a natural product of the Orient, was used in admixtures containing mica and other substances, but it had the disadvantage of softening at quite low temperature. Mixtures containing asbestos with pitch or asphaltum answered for some insulating purposes, though they were inclined to brittleness.

All these materials persist in some forms today, thanks to research which has improved their properties. But there was still a demand for better insulating plastics. The demand became more insistent as the automobile was developed and required insulating materials that would not soften under heat and would not be seriously impaired by moisture or oil.

This was the situation when, about



Bakelite Corp.

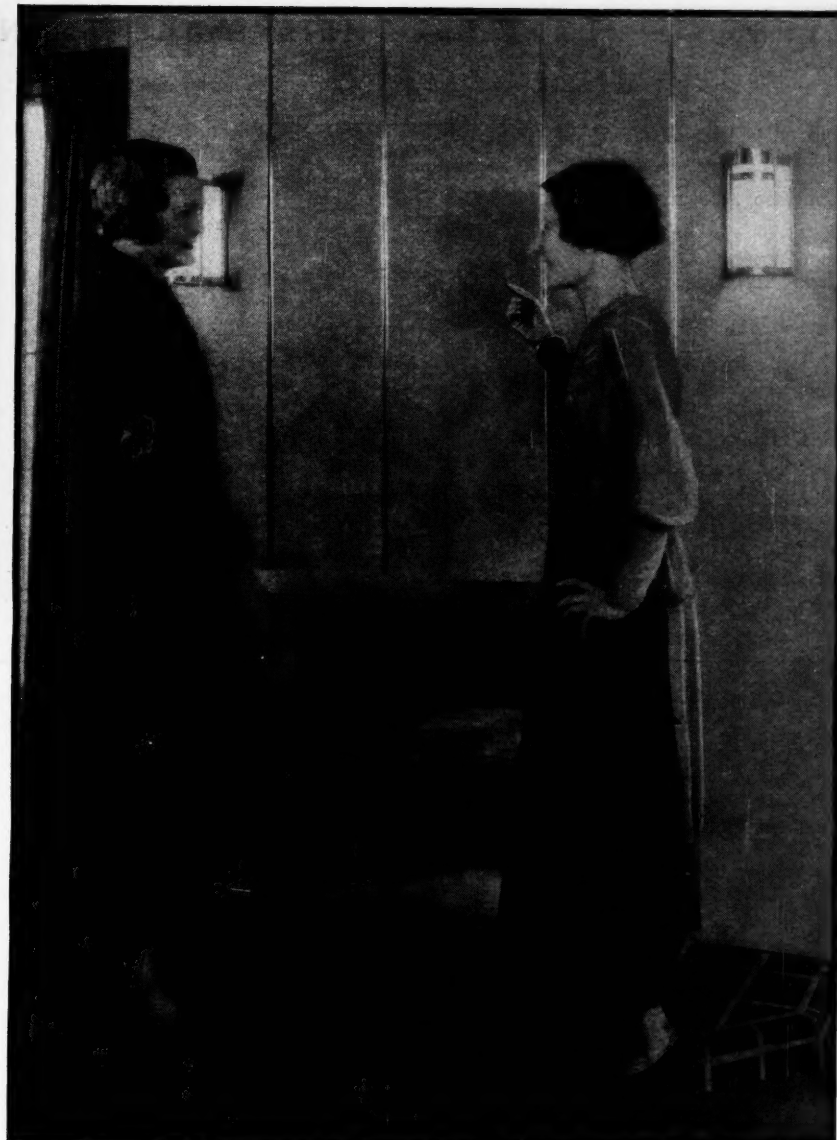
1905, Dr. L. H. Baekeland (having recently achieved fame and gained a fortune by the invention and sale of a process for making Velox photographic papers) undertook some research work with what the chemist terms "condensation of products of phenol and formaldehyde." This eminent scientist himself had said: "In research one may go hunting for a rabbit and bring home a bear."

Advantages

Indeed, he did bring home a "bear", if the plastic now known as Bakelite can be so termed. His phenolic plastic was eagerly seized by the electrical industry, including that branch of it which made electrical equipment for automobiles, and was put to excellent use. In fact, the electrical industry found so many uses for Bakelite that for many years it consumed virtually the entire output, and it still uses a large part of the supply.

Unlike most of its predecessors, Bakelite proved to be resistant to heat and could not be softened by heat after it had once been molded, even though the temperature was raised high enough to produce charring. This plastic was noninflammable, possessed considerable strength and resistance to shock, and was highly resistant also to water, oil, and many chemicals. Unlike hard rubber, it came from the molds with a high polish and was not affected by exposure to light. It made an almost ideal insulator for countless electrical applications and was also a good insulator against heat.

In addition, Bakelite could be made in a liquid form (as distinct from the powdered or granular forms used for molding) and was employed to impregnate paper and fabric which,



Westinghouse Micarta

UTILITY *Plastics understudy wood, steel, plaster, and glass—and often end by stealing the show. Here are walls, scales, and a bookcase, all from plastic materials.*

Plaskon Co., Inc.



when heated and pressed together, formed hard and enduring laminated sheets. Besides finding many electrical applications, these sheets are used for paneling in theaters, store fronts, and the like.

The demand of the electrical industry for phenolic plastics was so great as to delay their extensive use elsewhere, with certain exceptions, but not for long. Today they have outstripped the older pyroxylin plastics in extent of use. They enter nearly every industry in some form. Fire-proof partitions in ocean liners, paneling in public and private buildings, counters, bars, table tops and gears, among other uses, require hundreds of tons annually.

TYPES OF PLASTICS, THEIR MAKERS AND PRINCIPAL USES

Chemical Classification	Principal Trade Name	Manufacturer	Principal Uses
Pyroxylin (nitro-cellulose)	CELLULOID PYRALIN	Celluloid Corporation Dupont Viscoloid Co., Inc.	Pens, pencils, toilet ware and combs.
Cellulose Acetate	LUMARITH PLASTACELE TENITE	Celluloid Corporation DuPont Viscoloid Co., Inc. Tennessee Eastman	Shatter-proof glass, watch and clock crystals, non-flammable photographic film, hardware, knobs, wrapping tissues.
Urea Resins	BEETLE PLASKON	American Cyanamid Co. Plaskon Company Inc.	Tableware, cases for clocks, radios, scales, machines, automobile accessories, lighting fixtures, electrical parts, toys, containers, closures, lamp shades, buttons.
Phenolic Resins	BAKELITE DUREZ	Bakelite Corporation General Plastics, Inc.	Electrical parts, automotive parts, closures, containers, machine and appliance parts, tableware, novelties.
Cast Phenolic Resins	BAKELITE CATALIN MARBLETTE	Bakelite Corporation American Catalin Corp. Marblette Corporation	Costume jewelry, cutlery and hardware handles, novelty parts, desk accessories, buttons.
Laminated Plastics	FORMICA MICARTA SYNTHANE TEXTOLITE	Formica Insulation Co. Westinghouse Elec. & Mfg. Co. Synthane Corporation General Electric Co.	Panels for architectural and other applications, doors, table tops, gears, bearings, wheels, textile, chemical, electrical and automotive parts.
Synthetic Rubbers	DUPRENE PLIOFORM THIOKOL	E. I. DuPont de Nemours & Co. Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co. Thiokol Corporation.	Printing plates, gas and oil-proof hose, printing blankets, airship and airplane parts, cable sheeting, molding.

There is a never-ending list of new applications. Without plastics, automotive transportation, as we know it today, would cease. Ford, General Motors and Chrysler all use plastics extensively. Ford, one of the early users of plastics, is now putting up a \$5,000,000 plant for making and molding plastics. Without plastics the electrical industry would come to a halt. Millions of bottles, now sealed with those convenient, easy-to-open, non-corrosive caps made from phenolic plastics, would lack this excellent form of closure. Industries making chemicals and paints would be seriously handicapped, and thousands of factories would lack essential parts.

For the most electrical and many other industrial applications, where color is of minor importance, the least expensive black or brown phenolic

plastics have gained widest use. But where the vogue for colors is an important consideration, the situation is quite different. Demands for color have led to the creation of other types of plastic, in which sales appeal and appearance are paramount.

Research

Again the pot of research started to boil, and it was found that resins made from urea and formaldehyde (instead of phenol and formaldehyde) could be used to produce light, translucent moldings not available in the phenolic type. Success was first attained with urea resins in Europe, but a strictly American development of the same general type, carried out initially at Mellon Institute in Pittsburgh, resulted in the urea plastic called Plaskon that has attained wide use here today. In most qualities this plastic is similar to the phenolic form plus the color stability so important

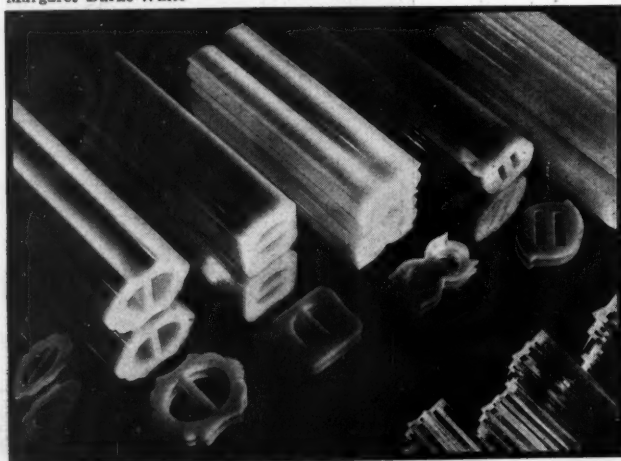
in many applications.

Plaskon is chiefly employed, however, for the production of the lighter and gayer colors which are translucent and do not darken in use. This form is applied mostly where decorative qualities are required. It has found widest use in table and kitchen ware, clock cases, packaging items, and in automobile instrument dials and hardware. The urea type of plastic can also be made up into sheets laminated in the same way that phenolic sheets are made. Here again use is largely confined either to light colors or white, or to applications (such as lighting equipment) in which the translucency of the product is desired.

Most plastics are so termed because they are capable of being formed or molded into the desired shape. Molding is generally done with powdered

BUCKLES *Sliced from bars of molded Catalin.*

Margaret Burke-White



DISHES *Light and strong, in gay new colors.*

American Cyanamid Co. Beetlware



compounds, under a pressure of several tons, and usually with the molds heated by steam.

This is the way Bakelite or Plaskon is made: Into the huge kettle go the phenol and formaldehyde, or the urea and formaldehyde, to be mixed. Electric stirrers, and a catalyst, make short work of the operation, and in a few hours the mass is permitted to flow into large flat pans where it assumes the appearance of peanut brittle—without the peanuts. After drying two or three hours the material is sent to a battery of grinders. During this period, the pigment is added to provide the plastic with the desired color. Then comes molding under heat and pressure into any form.

Of great commercial importance is the fact that molding is done quickly, also that the finished pieces are accurately sized and are practically ready for use as they leave the mold. The process is such that the cost per piece is low and each piece is an exact duplicate of every other piece from the same mold. Very often the cost per finished piece is lower than for equivalent metal parts, and the weight is considerably less.

Processes and Products

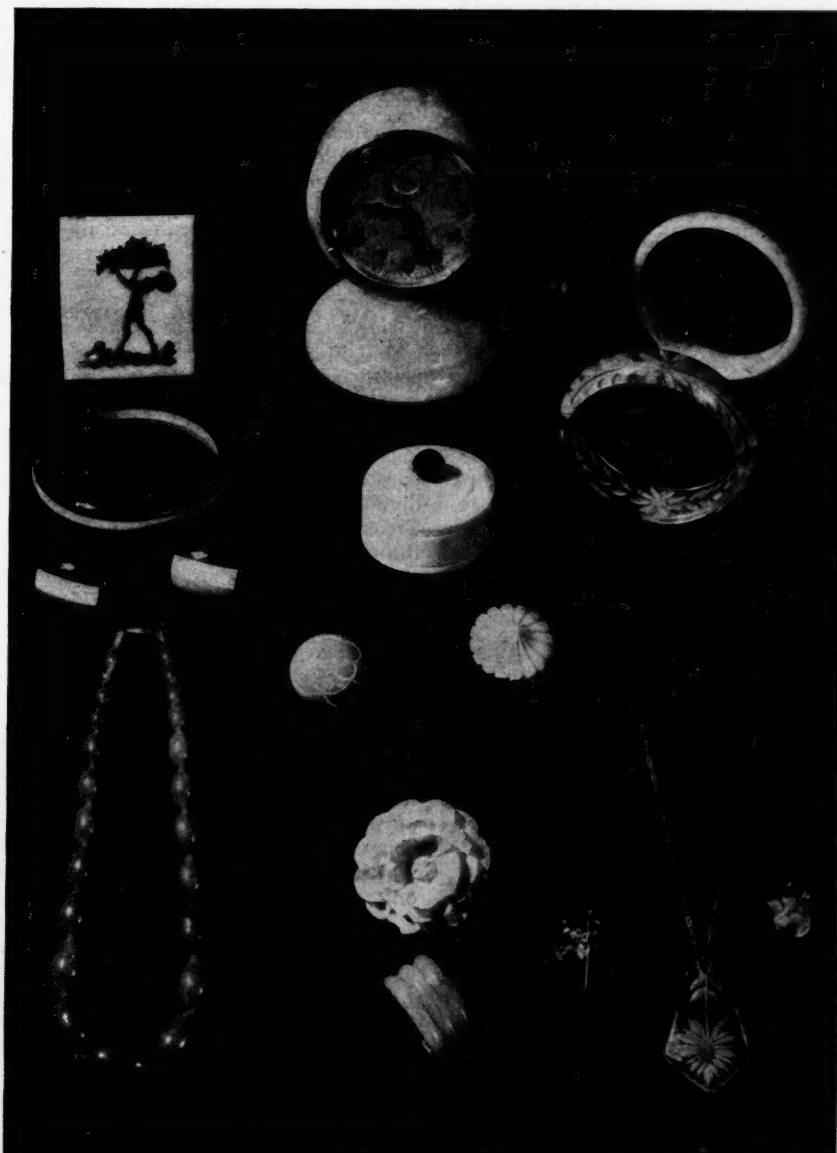
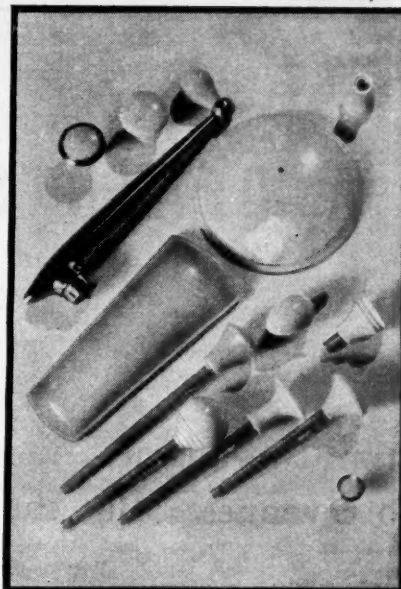
Not all types of plastics are produced in the form of molded or laminated articles. Some, including types of Bakelite and another material termed Catalin, are made by casting liquid resins in lead molds. These cast phenolics can be made clear water-white or in clear, translucent or opaque colors. They are among the most beautiful plastics produced, often so made as substantially to duplicate in appearance minerals and semiprecious stones such as onyx, rose quartz, jade, amethyst, cornelian, turquoise or garnet.

This does not exhaust the list of modern plastics. There is, for example, cellulose-acetate, closely related to acetate rayon, and now rivaling the pyroxylin (Celluloid) type of plastic,

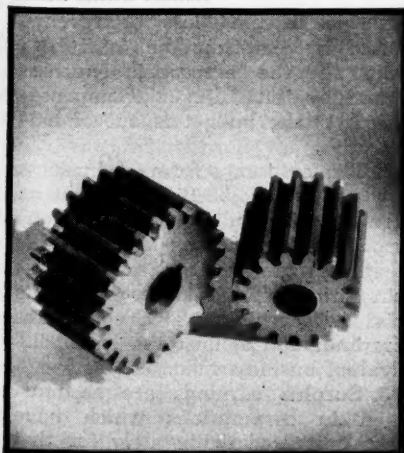
which it resembles in appearance, in commercial importance. The still newer "vinyl" plastics are now threatening to displace both the pyroxylin and cellulose-acetate in certain important applications.

Thiokol and Duprene, relatively new types of synthetic rubber, have displaced natural rubber in some special applications in which certain of their qualities are superior to those of natural rubber. Other and still newer plastics are constantly being developed in the chemist's laboratory and then slowly gaining commercial recognition.

MANY *The practical and beautiful uses to which plastics have been put. Pictured here, a range from cut crystal to sturdy industrial gears. The adaptability, the strength, and the inherent beauty of the materials constantly suggest novel applications. Plastics lend themselves to rapid and economical production in many industries.*



General Electric Textolite



American Catalin Corp.

A DEATH SENTENCE FOR THRIFT

BY JOSEPH STAGG LAWRENCE

The Administration's corporate tax proposals would stimulate business recovery, and perhaps add hundreds of millions to revenues. But they would invite bigger and better depressions.

ON MARCH 3, 1936, the President of the United States sent a message to Congress demanding the imposition of three new taxes calculated to yield \$2,131,600,000. The bulk of this income would come from a progressive tax on corporate income. The message estimated a yield of \$1,614,600,000 from this single source. The President suggested the repeal of three corporate taxes—on income, capital stock, and excess profits. Making allowance for the repealed taxes the new imposts would show a net annual yield of approximately \$620,000,000.

What is this corporate surplus tax? Why does the Government urge its passage at this time? What will be the immediate and long-time effects? These are some of the questions which a puzzled public is asking.

There is no precedent for the surplus tax in American fiscal history, or for that matter in the fiscal history of any other country. The world

© Underwood & Underwood



Robert L. Doughton, Chairman of House Ways and Means Committee

is completely innocent of any previous experience with this type of tax. It is therefore entirely the product of theory—totally untested theory. Since the measure has not yet been passed, any precise analysis of its provisions is impossible. The bill as reported by the House Ways and Means Committee differs radically in detail from the bill prepared by the experts of the Treasury. The underlying philosophy of the original proposal has not been affected by the House version.

How the Tax Is Figured

Roughly some such tax as the following would fulfill the theoretical requirements of the measure: Assume a corporation with net earnings of a million dollars. If the corporation pays out all the earnings as dividends it will pay no taxes. The Treasury will collect its revenue from the recipients in the form of income taxes. If the corporation withholds all its earnings it must pay 55 per cent as a tax. In between, the rate is graduated according to the portion of the income which is retained by the company. If our company retains 10 per cent, or \$100,000, and distributes the remaining 90 per cent, or \$900,000, to its stockholders, it pays a tax of 15 per cent on the retained portion—i.e., a tax of \$15,000. This compares with a tax of \$165,000 which it would pay under the present system.

Assume now that this company pays out 70 per cent of its earnings and retains 30 per cent; it pays out \$700,000 and retains \$300,000. The tax on the \$300,000 of retained earnings would be 55 per cent i.e., \$165,000. In comparing the proposed with the existing scheme of taxation, our calculations are complicated by the fact that net earnings of corporations

are reported *after* taxes whereas the new plan applies to net earnings *before* taxes. For purposes of the new tax the earnings of our hypothetical company would be not \$1,000,000 but \$1,165,000. Without laboring the application of a complex tax which has not yet become law, suffice it to say that a corporation may be able to retain a third of its earnings and pay a tax approximately equal to that which it must now pay.

In considering the tax, bear these principles in mind:

1. The corporation which pays out more than two-thirds of its income is rewarded. The corporation which pays out less than two-thirds of its income is penalized.

2. The tax paid depends as much upon corporate policy as upon corporate earnings. Therefore revenue derived from corporate income is subordinated to "desirable" corporate management of earnings. The bill aims at corporate control as much as it does at necessary revenue.

The reasons for urging this tax may be divided into two groups, the official and the probable.

The official reasons for the tax are three in number:

1. Due to the "loss of revenue caused by the Supreme Court decision and the increase in expenses caused by the Adjusted Compensation Act" the budget is out of balance.

2. The corporate form of business now pays a tax of 16½ per cent on earnings. The individual form of enterprise must pay a tax that is steeply progressive and may at certain periods exceed 40 per cent of its total net earnings. This constitutes discrimination against the small, individual business man.

3. Surplus earnings are accumulated in corporations which have been organized deliberately for that

purpose in order to escape the high surtaxes which apply to individual incomes. The Treasury estimates the amount of income which escapes surtaxes in this manner at 4½ billion dollars for 1936.

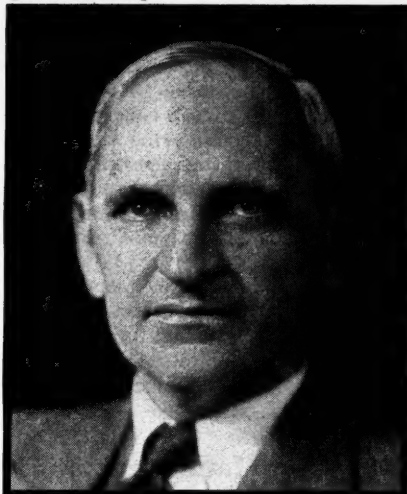
These official reasons thus admit a large element of reform in the design of the tax measure. How valid are the official reasons? The current fiscal year promises a deficit of 5 to 6 billion dollars. The loss in revenue "caused by the Supreme Court" and the added expense attributable to the bonus, account for only half of this deficit. The budget was three billion out of balance before the Supreme Court said anything about the AAA and before the veterans' lobby scored its great victory.

The most optimistic estimates of the Treasury show that the new taxes may increase revenue about 620 million dollars. This is roughly equal to one-tenth of the deficit in prospect. In fact it is doubtful if any tax or group of taxes politically possible in this country could match the expenditures which the federal government will make this year. It is not unfair, therefore, to say that the balanced-budget argument is a gesture and not a substantial reason for this legislation.

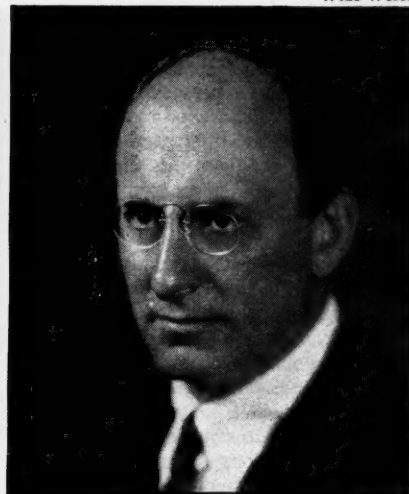
The equality argument has some merit. On the other hand, most enterprises in individual form are small. Exposure to surtaxes is limited and can be corrected at any time by incorporation. The escape of taxes by wealthy individuals through personal holding corporations is a glaring defect in the tax system. Granting the desirability of progressive taxes, it is the duty of the Government to see that all taxpayers are treated equally. Unfortunately the Government is here doing only half a job. Tax-exempt government securities afford another serious loophole for the wealthy taxpayer. The Treasury and the Administration offered no suggestions for the correction of this evil. Of course, tax exemption greatly facilitates the borrowing efforts of the Government.

What are the real reasons back of this measure? The answer to that question is necessarily deductive since the sponsors of legislation never offer two sets of reasons for their interest, the official and the actual. The first thing about this tax which is unusual is that it is offered in a campaign year by a government whose political sagacity has rarely been equalled in American history and certainly never exceeded. It is possible, therefore, that the measure is a political asset rather than a liability. Analysis confirms that view.

This appears to be a tax on undistributed profits of big business. It urges the equal treatment of all tax-



Herman Oliphant, of the Treasury, said to be father of the new tax.



Henry Morgenthau, Uncle Sam's harassed tax collector in chief.

payers. It forces wealthy individuals to toe the tax mark and pay like other citizens. It seems to avoid any tax upon 99 per cent of the voters. It raises the tax upon the remaining 1 per cent, who in the opinion of the aforementioned 99 per cent should pay higher taxes anyway.

It forces "arrogant" corporate management to distribute the earnings of business to the rightful owners, the stockholders. This makes for a wider diffusion of income, expands purchasing power, and "stimulates business". Here is a tax, painless to the great bulk of the voters, which raises a substantial wad of cash, forces an increase in dividends, and raises spending power. Thus the tax becomes endowed with extraordinary political sex appeal. In a campaign year, before the longer time mischief of this measure becomes apparent, it will unquestionably win many more votes than it will lose. If we define politics as the art of remaining in office we have discovered a good reason for the proposal of the corporate surplus tax in a campaign year.

A Sugar-Coated Tax

The immediate effect of this tax may be highly palatable. An increased distribution of earnings will be a tonic to the stock market. In a period of recovery and growing confidence corporations will have little difficulty in borrowing necessary capital for expansion of plant which might otherwise have been taken from current earnings. It is but another device to force the country upward toward the Great Boom compared to which the orgy of optimism during the late twenties will fade into the proverbial insignificance. As a stimulant it compares favorably with the expenditures by the Government of billions annually in ex-

cess of revenue. It will intensify the ecstasy in the glowing stage of national inebriation.

What are the sober considerations which cause thinking men and women grave distress as they consider the more enduring implications of this tax? Our experience during the past depression proves beyond doubt that the swings of the business cycle in the future will be greater than they have been in the past. Stock-market-wise and in terms of business activity and income, we will reach more feverishly for the moon at the crest and grovel more deeply in despair at lower bottoms.

This article does not permit an examination of the reasons for this. It is enough to state the conviction and note that economists, business men, and statesmen accept it as a fact to be reckoned with in the future. The Government is now in process of taking active, far-reaching measures in an attempt to moderate the effects of the next depression.

The Soil Conservation Act is an attempt to avoid the peaks and fill the gullies of the agricultural cycle. The Social Security Act seeks to temper in advance the blasts of the next economic storm in favor of the worker. The Security Act of 1933 and the Security Exchange Act of 1934 were motivated to a substantial degree by a desire to abate the violent swings of the stock market. The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation aims to prevent another nation-wide holocaust of banks.

The objectives of all these efforts, however much we may condemn the means, are security for the individual and stability for business and agriculture. If we liken the economic structure to an automobile, we may say that the Government has been striving to reduce acceleration and improve the brakes.

Into this picture the same Government projects a tax measure which stimulates accelerations and removes the brakes—in so far as they may be applied by corporate management. This can best be illustrated by taking an actual case, noting the precise manner in which management moderated the effects of fluctuating business, and then comparing this record with what might have happened if the proposed surplus tax law had been in effect.

Our example is the United States Steel Corporation and we will take a ten-year period from 1926-1935 as a normal cycle. We may point out that Steel during the course of its thirty-five years of corporate life earned approximately three billion dollars of which it paid out two-thirds in the form of dividends, thus complying over a period of years with what Washington considers ideal corporate practice. Table I shows net income of the corporation during the decade 1926-1935, dividend payments actually made, and payments that would have been made if the surplus tax law had been in effect.

Steel is a feast-and-famine industry. This applies in varying degree to more than half of American business and is thus typical rather than exceptional. Steel hit the crest of this ten-year cycle in 1929, with net income of 198 million dollars; and it

hit the bottom in 1932, with a deficit of 71 million dollars. The average for the ten-year period is 50.5 million dollars. In order to appreciate the volatility of Steel's earnings, consider this average as the normal in earnings and express the earnings of other years as a percentage of this figure. It then appears that 1929 earnings were 291 per cent above the ten-year average. In 1932 they fell 242 per cent below this average. In other words, within a ten-year period we have an amplitude, i.e., an extreme range of fluctuation, equal to 533 per cent of the average for the whole period.

Wise Management

It must be quite clear from these facts that the management of Steel must make provision in the prosperous years for the losses and wholly inadequate income of the depression years. An examination of dividend payments by Steel shows that this is precisely what Steel management did. The second column in Table I shows actual dividend payments during the ten-year cycle. Average dividend payments during this period are 49 million dollars, as compared with average earnings of 50.5 million. In other words, over ten years as a whole, the management paid out 97 per cent of its earnings. However,

consider more precisely the manner in which this was accomplished. In 1929, the year of top earnings, Steel paid out 45 per cent in the form of dividends. In 1932, the year of maximum deficit, the corporation paid out 20.7 million dollars in dividends, thus distributing to its stockholders payments equal to 42 per cent of normal even though the corporation sustained a loss of more than 71 million.

If we construct an index of actual payments, using average payments of the ten-year period as a base and expressing the individual years as percentages of this base, we derive a series of figures which form an interesting comparison with the corresponding figures for income. Thus dividend payments in 1929 were 81 per cent above the base, whereas earnings were 291 per cent above a comparable base. In 1932 dividend payments were 58 per cent below the base, whereas earnings were 242 per cent below the base.

Clearly, Steel management accumulated the fat of prosperous years to tide over the lean years of the depression. The line of dividend payments fluctuates far less severely than the line of earnings.

Let us see what might have happened to dividend disbursements if the surplus tax had been in effect. As is evident from an examination of this measure, a corporation is encouraged to pay out at least two-thirds of its earnings in the form of dividends. If it pays out more than this it reduces its taxes on the one hand, but on the other it reduces its ability to survive during depression.

Assume that the Steel Corporation decided to pay out 70 per cent of its earnings in the form of dividends. Column 4 of Table 1 shows the amounts paid out year by year. Column 5 shows these same amounts in terms of the average payment for the ten-year period. Under this method of payment, dividends in 1929 would have been 55 per cent greater than they actually were. On its common stock Steel would have paid approximately \$14 a year instead of \$8. On the other hand, in the three-year period, 1932-1934, Steel would have paid out no dividends whatsoever.

Clearly, the effect is to exaggerate disbursements and expenditures in periods of prosperity, and to eliminate them entirely in periods of adversity. Thus the effect of the tax measure would be to exaggerate the swings of the cycle, to make the peaks higher and the gullies deeper.

It is impossible to pursue to their ultimate conclusions all the implications of this phase of the tax bill. Let it suffice to indicate one. The top price for U. S. Steel in 1929 was 261¼ with \$21.19 in earnings and an \$8 dividend. If the dividend on com-

TABLE I—Ten Year Record of the United States Steel Corporation

Year	THE ACTUAL RECORD			AS IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN (Assuming uniform 70 per cent distribution of earnings)	
	Net Income	Actual dividend payments	Index of actual payments (average- normal)	Dividend payments under surplus tax plan	Index of dividend payments under sur- plus tax plan (average-normal)
1935...	1,084,917	7,205,622	-85%	760,000	-98.3%
1934...	21,667,780 def.	7,205,622	-85%	-100.0%
1933...	36,501,123 def.	7,205,622	-85%	-100.0%
1932...	71,175,705 def.	20,716,163	-58%	-100.0%
1931...	13,038,141	62,203,626	+27%	9,100,000	-79.5%
1930...	104,421,571	85,585,474	+75%	73,000,000	+64.5%
1929...	197,592,060	89,068,717	+81%	138,400,000	+212.0%
1928...	114,173,775	75,033,327	+53%	80,000,000	+80.0%
1927...	87,896,836	75,033,327	+53%	61,500,000	+38.5%
1926...	116,667,405	60,799,852	+24%	81,600,000	+84.0%
Average	50,553,009	49,005,834		44,436,000	

TABLE II
Net Incomes of U. S. Steel and American Telephone & Telegraph

	U. S. STEEL		A. T. & T.	
	Income	Index 10-year average-normal	Income	Index 10-year average-normal
1935.....	1,084,917	-98.0	121,748,729	-11%
1934.....	21,667,780 def.	-242.0	125,806,505	-14%
1933.....	36,501,123 def.	-172.0	137,456,776	-3%
1932.....	71,175,705 def.	-143.0	145,906,908	+3%
1931.....	13,038,141	-74.0	166,666,534	+18%
1930.....	104,421,571	+107.0	165,544,707	+17%
1929.....	197,592,060	+291.0	166,189,758	+18%
1928.....	114,173,775	+126.0	143,170,491	+1%
1927.....	87,896,836	+74.0	128,614,910	-9%
1926.....	116,667,405	+129.0	116,990,401	-17%
Average.....	50,553,009		141,180,956	

THE RETURN OF A DOORSTEP BABY



From the New York Herald Tribune

"It is my belief that if the leaders in each industry will organize a common effort to increase employment within that industry, employment will increase substantially. . . . It is the task of industry to make further efforts toward increased output and employment, and I urge industry to accept this responsibility."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT,
THE WHITE HOUSE, March 18, 1936.

mon stock had been \$14 instead of \$8, it is entirely probable that Steel would have sold at a much greater high. How much it is difficult to say. Certainly the entire level of the security market would have been higher and its vulnerability to collapse greater. The crash witnessed in the stock market in 1929 is mild compared to the one that might have taken place if this tax bill had been in effect.

500,000 Guinea Pigs

This measure must accept a second grave indictment. There are in this country approximately 500,000 corporations. They produce every conceivable type of product and render an amazing variety of services. The position and problems of no two of these corporations are exactly identical. What might be sound dividend policy for one company would be fatal policy for another. Is it possible to devise by law the dividend policy which would be best for 500,000 enterprises? Common sense rejects the suggestion.

As an illustration of the totally different policy which should be pursued by two companies, we may com-

pare the net income of the United States Steel Corporation and American Telephone and Telegraph Company. Table II shows a comparison of these incomes over a ten-year period 1926-1935. It will appear that Telephone income is much more stable than that of Steel. In its best years, 1929 and 1931, the net income of Telephone was only 17 per cent above the average for the period. At the lowest point, in 1926, its income was only 19 per cent below the average.

Obviously a company like American Telephone & Telegraph can pursue a dividend policy which is altogether different from the one that should be followed by U. S. Steel. The proposed surplus tax law refuses to recognize such differences. It insists upon forcing companies so utterly diverse as Steel and Telephone into identical molds. It is quite impossible to estimate the mischief which this straitjacket dividend rule will entail.

A third major indictment of the tax bill relates to the Government's finances. This tax measure indicates that the Government plans in the future to rely upon corporation and individual income taxes to a greater degree than it has in the past. For purposes of government it is necessary not only that a tax be productive but that it be reasonably reliable and constant. It is quite impossible to vary the expenditures of the Government from year to year or to adjust services to the unpredictable vagaries of corporate and individual income.

Since the war the great bulk of federal revenue has been derived from corporation and individual income taxes. This has caused the Treasury no end of embarrassment because these sources increased in productivity with business activity, at a time when the Government was least in need of extra income, and shrunk at a time when the burdens upon the state were greatest. Thus the taxes on corporations and individuals yielded 2,410 million dollars in 1930 and only 747 million in 1933—a drop of 68.8 per cent.

By contrast, consider the revenue derived from tobacco. Here the top figure was reached in 1935 at 459 million dollars, and closely approached in 1930 at 450 million. The lowest figure in the ten-year period, 1926-1935, is 371 million in 1926, a difference of only 19 per cent from the year of highest yield. At the bottom of the depression, in 1932, the tobacco tax yielded 399 million. This type of tax is infinitely more stable and better suited to the needs of the Government than are the corporation and income taxes.

The tendency of the surplus tax bill is to increase the importance of the

most unstable sources of revenue and diminish the importance of sources which in the past have proved the most satisfactory foundations of Government finance. From this it follows that not only will depressions of the future be bigger and better but also deficits.

The proposed corporate surplus tax has a great deal of political appeal in a campaign year. It has a certain amount of apparent merit in that it tends to equalize incomes on corporate and individual forms of enterprise, and furthermore it closes a loop-hole which has often been used in the past to avoid taxes.

On the other hand, the measure will gravely exaggerate the fluctuations of the business cycle, will deprive management of the right to determine its own particular and best dividend policy, and exposes the federal Treasury to more serious uncertainty of revenue than it has experienced in the past.

BUSINESS

DENIES THE RESPONSIBILITY

"There are billions of dollars of stored-up expansion in this country today, if the forces of recovery are unleashed. These forces will be encouraged by recognition of the following principles:

1. That an accurate knowledge of the extent and character of unemployment is essential as a basis to practical discussion, and the manufacturing industry would gladly co-operate in obtaining such an authoritative census.

2. That the chief pools of unemployment lie in the durable goods and particularly the construction industries, and the service industries dependent upon them, and that the financing of efforts herein requires long-term investment based upon confidence in the future.

3. That prosperous industry is the cause of expanding employment and the source of reliable and enlarged public revenue.

4. That neither an individual nor a business can employ at continuing loss nor unduly increase operating cost without jeopardizing through bankruptcy the employment of those now employed.

5. That expanding government competition with private industry is not only a deterrent to expansion of private employment, but is accompanied by methods of competition which government itself prohibits as between private competitors.

6. That expansion of private enterprise would be encouraged by the curtailment of governmental extravagance, which clouds the future with burdensome taxes.

7. That the importation of foreign goods and rejected ideas affect injudiciously American employment and adulterate American concepts of social and political life."

Report of the Directors,
NATIONAL MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION.

TRENDS IN THE QUARTERLIES

AN IMPORTANT DIVISION of American publishing, often neglected by the reading public, is the group of quarterly magazines. Of these, two of the better known are the sumptuous *Yale Review*, and the *North American Review*, the oldest American magazine still published in substantially its original field and format.

But a considerable number of somewhat more specialized quarterlies have enjoyed long and honored careers, and continue to serve their readers, chiefly within the realms of the social sciences. Thus, the *American Historical Review*, now in its forty-first volume, is published as an organ of the American Historical Association; the *Political Science Quarterly*, which has just published the first number of its fifty-first volume, is issued by the Academy of Political Science; and the admirable *Foreign Affairs* is sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations.

The *Sewanee Review*, issued by the University of the South, and the *Virginia Quarterly Review*, published by the University of Virginia, reflect the intellectual rather than the sectional interests of their principal audiences, and deal with a broad range of topics. Several historical quarterlies, on the other hand, such as the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, *Minnesota History*, and the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, restrict themselves largely to recording and documenting events of particular interest in the geographical areas which they serve.

A number of circumstances might be mentioned as tending to restrict the popular interest in quarterlies, but most important, perhaps, is the fact that in most cases they address themselves rather directly to a definite, and a relatively small, section of the public. The greater deliberation made possible by the schedule of only four issues a year, and a comparative detachment from the daily news, give them a distinctive character. But many of the quarterlies regularly publish thoughtful articles which possess quite as much timeliness and interest for the general reader as those appearing in the serious monthlies and weeklies.

The following brief extracts, chosen from the first quarterly issues of 1936, give some indication of the breadth as well as the depth of quarterly literature.

The Nemesis of National Planning

By H. V. Hodson, in the March *Pacific Affairs*

Planning is the economic catchword of the moment, and like most catchwords it conveys a multitude of virtues while covering a multitude of sins. While national politics are the usual instruments of planning, international trade and finance are immediately and directly affected.

The economic system is worldwide, the governmental instruments for controlling it are national. The inevitable outcome of this contrast has been a series of attempts to defend national economies from the effects of the world slump.

Whatever its motives, national planning is essentially protectionist in its effect. Even international schemes for the restriction of primary production often assume a protectionist character. The world of national plans is a world with national markets parcelled out; in such a world the country that must needs maintain a large volume of export trade is at an obvious disadvantage.

National planning without international coöperation in the essential matters of currencies, tariffs, markets and sources of supply is a movement of mass suicide: but safeguarded by international coöperation it may be the next base for another great advance in the unending war against poverty.

Tomorrow's Broadcast

By Davidson Taylor, in the March *North American Review*.

Most men in radio are beginning to see that they have at their disposal an entirely new medium, requiring a unique approach. It is not enough to transfer to the air the materials of stage, concert hall and lecture platform. The time has arrived when all radio programs must be planned in terms of radio itself.

I believe that in the immediate future, serious composers will write increasingly in terms of the microphone. With radio, the microphone itself becomes almost an instrument, since it can establish within the orchestra tonal relations unheard of twenty years ago. The sounds of certain trumpet mutes and of a subtone clarinet are useless in a hall, because they are inaudible to the audience.

Yet both these tones can be placed so near the electrical ear that they will dominate the whole orchestra fabric. There is no note of any instrument within the audible scale which cannot be employed in any desired relationship to the ensemble.

The radio medium is worthy of the best creative attention. It has been busy revivifying things old, and discovering things new. An ascending cello tone can convey the sensation of anaesthesia; music by Orlando di Lasso and the timbre of the viol di gamba have been on the air of late; John Mulholland has a program of aural magic, which he developed working with the blind, ready to take the air.

Radio has passed over some firm ground. Take courage for tomorrow's broadcast; it's likely to be good.

Friends and Enemies of Learning

By James Bryant Conant, in the Spring *Yale Review*

Hostility to learning is not a new phenomenon; the demand for educational reform along utilitarian lines is not one of the inventions of which this century can boast.

In troubled times when men's spirits are distressed by the apparent failure of the past to solve the dilemmas of the present, universities, like other traditional institutions, are certain to be the targets for hostile criticism. The bolder spirits among the discontented are satisfied with no less a task than that of re-defining the ends and aims of civilization. Those who live in such periods are perforce both examining surgeons and wounded patients (without benefit of anaesthesia.)

The true friends of learning have always realized with what a tender plant they were dealing. Try to force its growth in one direction or another and you may destroy it. Attempt to determine the future of the universities on the basis of a general political or social philosophy and you run a grave risk of crippling them for generations. Demand utility from your centres of learning and you will have sterility; cut them off artificially from the national life and they will wither.

The utilitarian test of learning is by necessity too short-sighted. What is worthless to one generation is not

to another. All who wish to measure the value of scholarly work should be reminded of the famous retort of Michael Faraday. When a lady asked him, after a popular lecture on the then young science of electromagnetism, "What is the use of that experiment?" he replied, "Madam, what is the use of a baby?"

New Debts for Old

By Robert C. Binkley, in the April *Virginia Quarterly Review*

We are so habituated to the doctrine of the business world that the overhead of a bonded debt takes priority over the labor overhead, and that a going concern can get rid of its labor costs by closing down plant while it continues to pay bondholders out of reserves, that we tend to apply the same reasoning to the national government, where the conditions are reversed. We tend to think of the owners of government bonds as holders of a first mortgage, while the persons on relief rolls have only a second mortgage.

Actually the exact reverse is the case. The relief rolls are a first mortgage on the treasury, and the bondholders possess only a second mortgage. This is not an ethical judgment about what it ought to be; it is not an appraisal of the relative places that ought to be accorded to human and property rights respectively. It is an outright realistic description of the actual situation.

The federal government, so long as it stands as set up by the Constitution, cannot pay the coupons on the bonds until the relief checks have been honored. The political consequences of repudiating the claims of the relief clients would be a disturbance that might make the bondholders wish they held Brazilian or Peruvian paper.

The bondholders possess a junior mortgage, the relief clients a first mortgage. But the difference is more than one of simple priority. The bonds are payable in dollars, subject to all the risks of inflation, but the relief obligations are payable in a currency that was known before gold was mined. They call for about three thousand calories per man per day, payable in food; about seventy degrees of temperature, payable in coal and clothing.

If inflation doubles prices, eighty billions rise to a hundred and sixty. The biological minimum cannot be altered, nor can payment be postponed. No moratorium law will alter the fixed period of grace, the range of which was so succinctly stated by that prophet of misery, Carlyle, when he wrote that "nine meals are all that stand between civilization and barbarism".



SO THEY SAY



SIR HARRY DUNCAN
McGOWAN:
of Imperial Chem. Ind.,
Ltd.

"I have no objection at all to selling arms to both sides—I am not a purist in these things."

HARRY L. HOPKINS:
generalizes

"You might say all government is political."

WESTBROOK PEGLER:
at last explains

"The truth is that the nazis want God on their side, but on their own terms and subject to the party discipline."

SIR ARTHUR SALTER:
pays his respects to
isolationists

"I don't believe one can reckon on an oasis of prosperity in an impoverished world, or on an oasis of peace in a world of war."

SENATOR VANDENBERG:
new thought on an
old theme

"If the farmer that I've shown got \$298,000 for not raising 14,000 hogs has a daughter, she must be without a soul, because the farmer was a corporation."

DEUTSCHE JUSTIZ:
nazi legal journal

"A handful of force is better than a sackful of justice."

REP. JAMES
McANDREWS:
Illinois paladin

"Even if I knew anything against any candidate, I would rather be defeated than say it."

HANS BORCHERS:
German Consul
General

"To the American mind, the words 'making propaganda' mean something unethical. But to the German they mean the same as advertising means to you."

SENATOR REYNOLDS:
assails our immigration
laws

"As usual, this country is playing the simps—just as we did in the World War. England gets the cream of the immigrants; America gets the scum."

ITALIAN LABORER:
down in Ethiopia

"I don't see why we must ask permission of England to come and die here. Do you?"

ADMIRAL STANDLEY:
on a treaty almost won

"I do think we haven't lost a damn thing. We've still got our 10,000-ton cruisers."



STANLEY BALDWIN:
statesman states fact

"I have never known a leakage of information due to a woman, but I have known leakages through men who should have known a great deal better."



BEHIND THE FOREIGN NEWS

BY ROGER SHAW

The world is paired off into warlike trouble-fronts, as the international duelists threaten one another in various climes. Under the shadow of war, however, there is some constructive progress.

THERE ARE three major trouble-fronts, as this is written. One of them is an honest-to-goodness war, that of East Africa. A second is a semi-war, that waged between Japan's Manchurians and Russia's Mongolians along the Far Eastern frontier. The third is the diplomatic warfare carried on between France and Germany in the matter of the remilitarized Rhineland.

Italy has been winning victories in the Ethiopian theatre of war, penetrating to Lake Tana in the north-western sector and to French Somaliland in the northeastern area. The Italian infantry has been motorized in truckloads, fifteen men to a lorry, and with a fast escort of tanks and armored-cars has penetrated successfully into a number of deep northern salients. Haile Selassie's 50,000 trained regulars, black imperial experts, were long held in reserve; but finally they were thrown into action under their European commanders, and met with partial defeat. Hitherto, Italian victories had been scored over untrained, ill-armed feudal levies, personal followers of the Ethiopian tribal chieftains.

Lake Tana, with its dam projects, controls the water supply of the Blue Nile, Egypt, and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. It is extremely important as an adjunct to British imperialism, and the penetration of Italy's armed motorists hardly pleases the inner councils of Londontown. This the Italians know, and their defiance has been desperate, based largely on a belief that in any Mediterranean seafight their speedboats, submarines, and aircraft could finish off John Bull's old-fashioned, heavy-displacement vessels.

It must be emphasized that remilitarization of the Rhineland by Germany in no way menaces France. Germany is looking east (toward Russia, Austria, the Balkans and Bal-

tic) and not west. Peace with France and England has been a keynote policy of the nazis, who have become ideologically hipped on the "red menace" and the "Jewish Republic of Russia"—as they tactfully put it.

If Germany tries any eastern military venture, she must lock her back-door in the Rhineland. Had the Rhineland not been remilitarized, France could at any time have marched her armies into the industrial heart of Germany, as she did in peacetime of 1923. This she would doubtless have done in the recent past, if the Third Reich had struck across Poland into the Ukraine, or

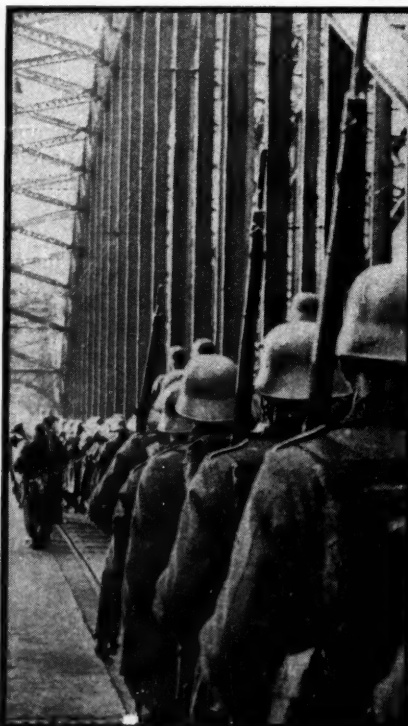
had upset the impossible dictatorship which rules over Austria. Germany has no basic designs against France, but she claims the right of self-defense in the west in case she fights in the east.

France has her impregnable Maginot Line of steel-and-concrete, subterranean forts, running from Antwerp to Switzerland, manned by 150,000 skilled technicians who know their fight-machinery. The ex-demilitarized zone of the German Rhineland contains some 15 million inhabitants, nearly a quarter of the Reich's population, all of whom were quite undefended in a period of intense international unrest. Hitler's move was inevitable, for here is the richest, most densely peopled part of Germany, with coal fields, steel factories, and the biggest of big business.

The German referendum of 99 per cent was, of course, bunk-like. There was no chance to vote "no" on the ballots, and indirect election pressure was intensive. It was a spirited horse-race with one horse. None the less, in the Rhineland matter, most Germans were in solid agreement; and a free vote would probably have given the Parteigenossen (nazis never call themselves nazis) a three-fourths majority. German browns, reds, and blacks agree on one thing, and one thing only: national independence as against the 1919 Versailles Diktat.

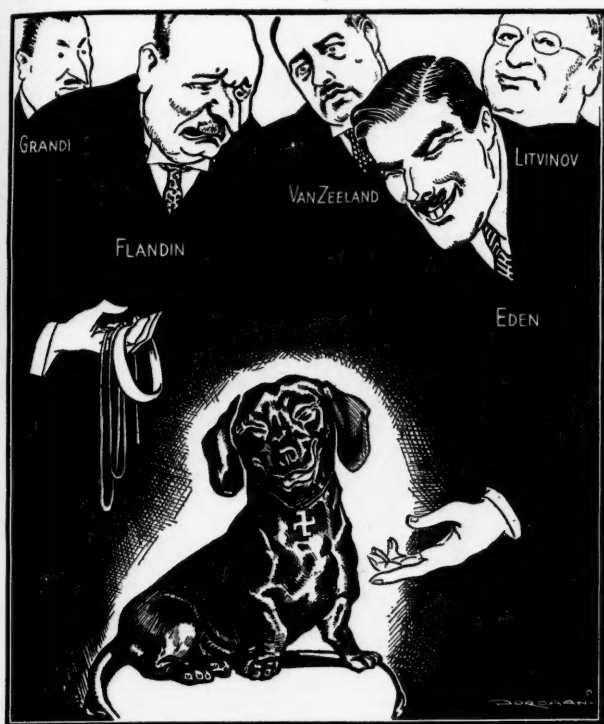
Incidentally, German army regulars are by no means as bellicose as the hot-headed nazis, for their new war machine—the Wehrmacht—will not be perfected in a realistic sense for a couple of long years.

In the Far East, Manchukuo continues to be a nuisance. It is not a truly national state, but a Japanese dummy, controlled by Nippon capital, advisers, and troops. It is a left-handed way for the island militarists, beyond the control of their own poli-



Over the bridge to the Rhineland, at Cologne. German rights reclaimed!

... how it looks to the Europeans ...



From the Dutch De Groene Amsterdammer

AMSTERDAM

Eden: "Give Anthony your paw."
Flandin: "Take care, he bites!"



From the Polish Mucha

WARSAW

"Get along with your job, little Jap,
Europe is too busy to notice you."



From the Italian Il 420

FLORENCE

"Victory cannot be contested, for it
is blood of our blood."—Mussolini.



From the German Kladdadatsch

BERLIN

Germany regards France the "unwise
virgin" in her Russian relationship.

... how it looks to the Americans ...



By Manning, in the Phoenix Republic

ARIZONA

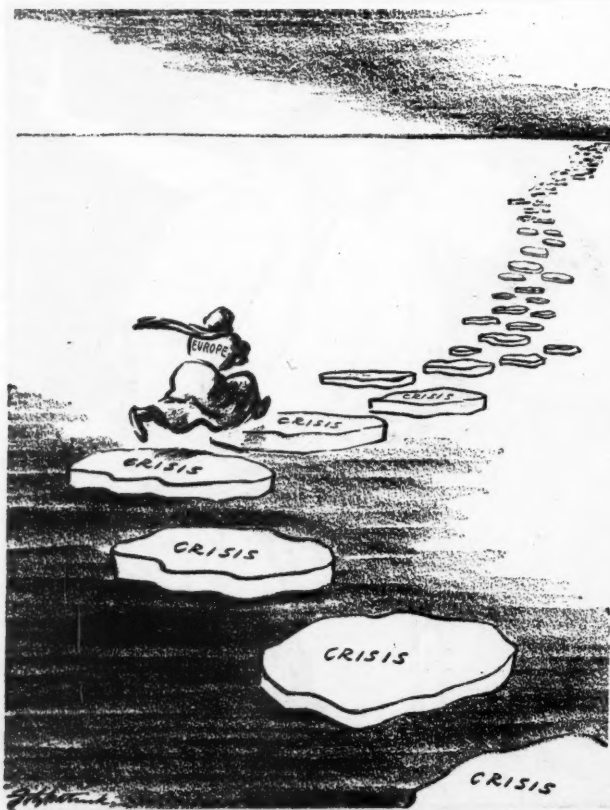
Hitler leaps into the spotlight, temporarily eclipsing his rival, Mussolini.



By Jerry Doyle, in the New York Post

NEW YORK

Death leads a conscript army across sad and somber Europe.



By Fitzpatrick, in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

MISSOURI

It seems doubtful whether little Eliza will reach a peaceful shore.



By Werner, in the Daily Oklahoman

OKLAHOMA

A cloud of suspicion darkens the European sky. Will it blow away?

ticians, to encroach on the U. S. S. R. via little red Mongolia, which is a Russian affiliate and a nuisance almost as great as Manchukuo. It is as if the Philippines and New Zealand should skirmish, thereby embroiling (not unwillingly) Uncle Samuel and Farmer John Bull. Russia, however, is not too aggressive against the militarist Mikado-cult, for she fears the militarist Hitler-cult which glowers at her western border.

On the world's fourth trouble-front, in South America, the uncertain armistice between Paraguay and Bolivia appears to be strengthened as

war prisoners are finally exchanged amid endless bickerings. Paraguay has deserted "American" institutions—which she enjoyed in theory—and has turned into an official fascist statelet, based on the Italo-German model, under Il Duce Rafael Franco, hero of the long Chaco war. Bolivia, thrice more populous, has experienced the breakdown of her German-trained war machine—formerly the most perfect fighting instrument in South America—and is wavering uncertainly after jungle reverses and political turmoils. What price glory, amid the storms of 1936?

employer and employee at 6½ per cent of the employee's wage. If a worker loses his job and has no dependents, he must wait 14 days before he begins to receive insurance benefits. For those with 4 dependents, the waiting period lasts only 3 days. Benefits continue for 5 months before they run out. Upper-wage brackets may continue unemployment insurance if they pay all premiums themselves, their employers not contributing. C. U. I. systems seldom give benefits in case of strikes or lock-outs, but they do not generally expect unemployed workers to take jobs in industrial plants undergoing class warfare. England and Bulgaria allow unemployed men, supported by C. U. I., to refuse jobs in occupations other than their own. Other countries insist that they take any sort of available position.

In Germany, Austria, and Poland, the premiums for C. U. I. are set at a fixed percentage of wages earned, while in England, Ireland, Italy, and Bulgaria there are flat-rate benefits for the unemployed. England and Germany were nineteenth-century pioneers in social security of various kinds. Ireland learned the system from decades under English sway, while Austria follows Germany in most organizational matters. Italy has been thoroughly socialized under fascism, and Bulgaria was always known as the most progressive nation in the Balkans. Poland has the next-door Union of Socialist Soviet Republics to compete with, or to imitate in lesser matters.

The conservative and realistic old Bismarck, in the 1880 period, was

THE RIGHT TO EAT

Compulsory unemployment insurance makes progress in Europe

IT IS ALWAYS a relief to turn from war news to something worthwhile. And although hard times all over the world are not pleasurable, efforts to combat them are constructive. International hostilities never are.

During the nineteenth century the cry of progressive peoples was ever for constitutions, as against despotic monarchs. During the post-war twentieth the analogous demand has been for systems of compulsory unemployment insurance, as against even more despotic hunger. The United States finally gave in by the terms of its Social Security Act of 1935; but seven nations of Europe—more depressed, or else more progressive—preceded the legislation at Washington. The seven are Great Britain, Irish Free State, Germany, Austria, Poland, Bulgaria, and Italy. In none of them is the system perfect. In all of them it has done good.

Great Britain, with a population of 46 million, now has 2 million unemployed, approximately and subject to fluctuation. Germany (66 million) has 1¼ million, excluding those thousands working in state labor camps. Italy (43 million) has 650,000 unemployed; Poland (32 million) has 400,000. Austria (7 million) has 300,000 people out of work; Irish Free State (3 million) has 150,000 of them. Lucky Bulgaria, almost entirely agrarian, has at present virtually no jobless.

England was the pioneer in compulsory unemployment insurance, going back to 1911, before the war. The German system dates from 1927, just before the depression. France inaugurated voluntary insurance about 1905, but her setup has never become compulsory, is spotty, and not

suitable for purposes of study or comparison. In Germany, Austria, and Italy, only employers and employees contribute to unemployment-insurance premiums; while in England, Ireland, Poland, and Bulgaria, the state supplements payments by workers and bosses. Seasonal laborers, old-age pensionaries, civil-service employees, farmers, and domestic servants have been generally excluded from C. U. I., as have wage-earners in the upper brackets.

At present the typical German system functions as follows: Contributions are evenly divided between

THE MARCH OF EVENTS — ABROAD

(Two conferences dominate the European news, both debating whether to punish or condone. In one case the defendant is Germany; in the other, Italy. Both ambitious.)

Locarno powers—Britain, France, Belgium, and Italy—agree upon procedure against German military reoccupation of the Rhineland (March 19). The Hague Court is to determine whether Germany was justified by France's new treaty with Russia; and effort is made to induce Germany to accept international troops in demilitarized Rhineland.

Benito Mussolini, Italy's Dictator, addresses the 22 corporations which comprise, politically, the fascist state (March 23). He announces drastic changes in preparation for Europe's "inevitable war", including replacement of the Chamber of Deputies by a National Assembly of Corporations and the nationalization of key industries.

Naval limitation for six years is provided in a treaty signed at London (March 25) by the United States, Great Britain, and France. Japan had withdrawn after demanding a higher ratio; Italy may agree when the League lifts its sanctions over Ethiopia; Germany signs with Britain only.

Hitler's strange vote of confidence, asked of the German people after his Rhineland reoccupation, results in 99 per cent approval. No way to vote No! Unmarked ballots invalid. (March 29).

Germany's reply to the Locarno powers (April 1) asserts a status of freedom, independence, and equality; it declares that France's military treaty with Soviet Russia relieved Germany of further recognition of the Locarno treaty; it makes elaborate proposals for peace.

Italy's army defeats Ethiopians in an important engagement at Lake Ashangi (April 4), opening up Dessaye, headquarters of Emperor Haile Selassie to occupation. (April 13).

The League's Committee of Thirteen (the Council, minus Italy) reassembles at Geneva on April 16. It seeks assurance from Mussolini that Italy's war against Ethiopia will be ended promptly, thus averting (a) a break between England and France or (b) the imposition of an oil embargo against Italy.

far-sighted father of it all. His motto was always to beat the socialists at their own game, and he succeeded. Nazis, fascists, and communists may come and go. So may monarchies and republics. But C. U. I., needed in 1936 more than nineteenth-century civil-liberty constitutions, is slated to continue.

C. U. I. is an inevitable sequel to the industrial revolution, and in general its proponents indicate this. Germany and England are virtual industrial workshops, as is North Italy, with its Turin and Milan and adjacent territory. Poland has extensive coal-mining and textile areas, with much unemployment in and out

of season. Austria has highly industrialized cities and important iron mines. Ireland and Bulgaria are under-industrialized to date, but they are congenitally progressive, and look ahead along evolutionary lines.

The United States has turned increasingly from farming to manufacturing ever since the close of the Civil War, with its triumph of Northern big business over Southern slave-capitalism. Incidentally, the industrial revolution struck England after 1750, France about 1830, Germany about 1870, North Italy a bit later than that. Japan became mechanized close to 1900, and Russia—with her first five-year plan—in 1928 and thereafter.

SOVIET DEUTSCHLAND

A Germany is found on the Volga River as well as on the Rhine

THERE ARE, in all, five Germanies—which is quite in keeping with the old German record of time-honored discord. One of these is theocratic, the Catholic dictatorship of Austria. Another is a simon-pure democracy, that of Switzerland. A third is the city-city of Danzig on the Baltic, "owned" by the League of Nations. There is also the nazi Third Reich of Adolf Hitler. And last but not least, there is a communist Germany, that of the German Volga republic, a little constituent state of the vast Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

This faraway Germany is situated in the very heart of Russia, near Stalingrad and Kazakstan. It contains 17,500 square miles, with the River Volga running through the middle. The population totals nearly three-quarters of a million people who, for the most part, are agrarians. Wheat, rye, barley, sunflower seed, tobacco rank as leading products of a rather barren soil, and the local drought danger—very pronounced—is being countered by irrigation projects of some magnitude.

There is a tractor factory at Marxstadt on the Volga bank, but other industries are largely connected with the processing of agricultural products. The Volga Germans were ever a thrifty and progressive lot, and far outdid their Russian neighbors. Many became prosperous, and hence were labelled as kulaks during the recent period of agrarian collectivization. This led to friction and some forcible deportations in the case of recalcitrant, wealthy farmers. Most of the German Volga lands are now incor-

porated in farm collectives, which leave to the peasant his house and garden, cow and lesser stock, but conduct major operations on a communal basis with the aid of government-owned tractors.

The Lutheran Volga Germans were settled hereabouts in 1760, by Czarina Catherine the Great, who was herself a German. Some 30,000 of them were brought in at this time and placed advantageously, exempt from army service and given special landed rights. Catherine intended that these skilled farmers should serve as a model colony for the instruction of her backward native Slavs. The Germans did well.

During the World War, Volga Germans were badly treated, though they had lived in Russia for a century and a half. In 1915 the Czar ordered their exile—men, women, and children—to Siberia because of their race. This typically czarist ukase was mercifully cancelled by the Russian revolution of 1917, and in 1918 a Soviet Congress was held by the Germans, followed by autonomous status in 1929. The German Volga republic now has twelve cantons, and more than two-thirds of the inhabitants are of pure German race, language, and culture. It is a small Soviet Germany. The

If the reader has any questions on foreign affairs not covered in these pages, Roger Shaw will answer brief queries by letter.

Joachim Von Ribbentrop is Germany's ambassador-at-large. He spends his time airplaning from one European peace conference to another, and making persuasive speeches at each one in defense of Herr Hitler's nationalism. Von Ribbentrop is 43, a wounded officer of the war-time Russian front who later became a liquor salesman and the husband of a champagne magnate's daughter. An ardent nazi of aristocratic connections, an orator as well as a diplomat, he is said to play a good game of tennis, bridge; looks like F. D. R.

Acme



Von Ribbentrop, whose job it is to sell Hitler to the rest of Europe.

Soviet Union has, too, little Armenian, Finnish, Rumanian, and Jewish republics within its borders, as well as Slavic and Mongol states of various sorts and sizes. Here, in a sense, is the world in miniature.

All over the world, fascists and communists are in collision. The German Fatherland is fascist under Hitler. In case of war for the Soviet Union, red Volga Germans would find themselves in conflict with brown Germans of the Third Reich. Doubtless, Volga Germans would prove themselves quite loyal to the U.S.S.R. Culturally, they consider themselves thoroughly Germanic. Politically and economically, they are international-minded communists. The famous General Bluecher, Soviet war ace, is a Volga German.

As ever in the Germanies, five political systems differ widely, irreconcilably. Yet all are ultra-Teuton, and proud of it. Populations: Third Reich, 66 million; Austria, 7 million; Switzerland, 4 million; German Volga, 600,000; Danzig, 400,000.

BACTERIA IN WARFARE?

BY J. J. DE BARY

Are wars henceforth to be waged against civilians? Are epidemics and plagues to replace explosive bombs? Just how dependable an implement of modern warfare is the germ of dread disease?

BACTERIAL WARFARE is the most recent gospel of frightfulness that is being syndicated in the flaming sheets of the Sunday press from coast to coast. According to these diabolical schemes not only hostile armies, but also the entire enemy population, will be infected with bacilli in order to produce decimating epidemics at the front as well as behind the lines. Thus annihilation of the enemy of the future by wholesale extermination is to proceed much more rapidly and far more effectively than by any contemporary mechanical and chemical means.

Presumably, bacterial warfare is to surpass chemical warfare in frightfulness. It seems that the engineer and the chemist and the biologist, too, will be given their chance in the next war of mobilizing their secret bag of tricks, containing disease breeders and organic poisons as weapons of attack. The horrors of medieval warfare are to be resurrected!

In ancient times the furies of war-scourges accompanied Mars into the field of battle. Epidemics decimated the ranks far more thoroughly than the most terrible enemy. Whole armies were wiped out by contagious diseases. Nevertheless, in the course of time, medical treatment and sanitation have succeeded in harnessing epidemics. While during the wars of the eighteenth century losses from diseases were nearly six times those caused by actual combat, this ratio dropped in 1850, with French troops during the Crimean War to 3.2 to 1; and during the Franco-Prussian War, on the German side, to 1.66 to 1. During the World War the horrors of epidemics were practically eliminated, and it was only towards the end that communicable diseases began to come to the forefront.

And now military scourges are to be artificially loosened. Science is to be enlisted in converting these com-

municable diseases into effective weapons. That this question may be considered of especial importance is obvious from the fact that the use of organisms which cause communicable diseases as an instrument of warfare was considered by the Conference on the Limitation of Armaments held in Washington in 1922. An international commission reported as follows:

1. The effects of bacterial injury cannot be limited or localized.
2. Modern water-purification methods protect against the organisms of typhoid and cholera.
3. Plague is a disease that would be as dangerous for the force using the organisms as for the attacked.
4. The danger from typhus has been exaggerated.
5. Modern sanitary methods are effective in controlling communicable diseases.

Then the question of bacterial warfare suffered a lapse of interest. But during the past years, as an incident of the preparation for the Geneva Convention, there has been a marked revival of interest in this supposed bugbear, bacterial warfare.

"Civilized" Weapons

Possibly this is only part of the effort of professional pacifists to add all the imaginary frightfulness they can picture to the known horrors of war. The space and thought given by feature writers have not been without effect, and many people now believe that bacterial warfare represents a real threat and problem for future generations.

War history through the ages clearly demonstrates that the moral aspect has nothing whatever to do with the acceptance of implements of warfare, and it would, therefore, be useless to preach morals. In the

same manner as "outlawing future wars" won't assure universal peace, disarmament conferences and national alliances will be unable to regulate future warfare, regardless of alleged brutality. After all, it is not sentiment but effectiveness that decides on the application of new implements of warfare. History of war weapons has taught us that employment of a new, apparently inhuman weapon, or of a very cruel implement of warfare, will be abandoned only when this weapon has lost its importance or has been rendered useless by a more effective weapon.

When in prehistoric times a certain warrior had the bright idea of employing a sling-shot, instead of natural weapons such as fists, claws, or teeth, he loosened a storm of opposition because the use of stones in honest combat was then considered inhuman, brutal, and cowardly. Nevertheless, the next time the opponent, too, did not hesitate to employ this "cowardly" method of fighting and, presumably, he picked the most jagged rocks he could find.

The same thing has happened during the subsequent evolution of war-weapons, with sword, lance, black powder, firing-pin rifle, machine-gun, U-boat, explosive drop-bomb, and chemical warfare. Every time somebody tried by moral persuasion to suppress the employment of the new "inhuman" instrument of annihilation, and in the end the disgusted adversary, forced into it, tried to improve upon and intensify the despicable method of fighting.

The same will probably happen with biologic warfare. As soon as there are ways and means of decimating the enemy's ranks by communicable diseases or by deadly poisons carried into the enemy's territory, this "cruel" and "inhuman" method of fighting will be generally

adopted, despite all sentimental objections, once a start has been made. The mere fact that eminent peace workers at the Geneva Disarmament Conference in 1923 considered bacterial warfare seriously enough to prohibit its use, along with chemical and incendiary warfare, justifies us in considering this agency of warfare.

Fortunately for the human race, the facts are such that exaggerated fears of the devastating effects of bacterial warfare are without foundation—unless an author's imagination regarding the Next War should become a reality, and some sort of super-bacillus could be cultivated. The poor prospects of successful biologic warfare may best be judged from a few typical examples.

Simple Remedies

Let us consider, first of all, the group of communicable diseases that attack humans by way of the alimentary canal, such as cholera, typhoid, and dysentery. Formerly these diseases appeared as epidemics in time of war and peace, though nowadays typhoid and dysentery are rare and limited to narrowly confined areas, and there is hardly an American physician who has seen and much less treated a cholera case. But the bacilli for these diseases may be artificially cultivated, and cases may be visualized where water and food-stuffs have been contaminated with these disease germs. But will this really bring about an epidemic? By no means, for it will be suppressed at once because the remedy is quite simple. Aristotle already knew it, and gave his friend, Alexander the Great, the good advice to "boil his water and bury his dung". In those days precautionary measures were considered effeminate and ridiculous; nowadays sewer and water systems protect us from dangers of contamination. In a civilized country epidemics, such as cholera, dysentery, and typhoid, even if they are artificially propagated, may be eradicated at the source.

A second group of maladies that could be serious enough to prove effective as a war-weapon, provided ways of properly using them were devised, are the communicable respiratory diseases, such as influenza, pneumonia, and the common cold. Although the latter is no real disease, it might nevertheless produce great numbers of non-effectives. It is not impossible that infected dust might be strewn by airplanes, and find its way into the respiratory organs.

But what would be accomplished by that? Practically nothing. For we do not normally inhale air that is free from bacilli, and during an epi-

demic of grippe not all people become infected! Consequently, it is not the bacilli alone that cause an epidemic, but it also depends on certain secondary factors that make human beings susceptible to infection. So far, these supplementary factors are little known; and as long as actual causes of epidemics are unknown, no epidemic can be artificially generated.

The most dreaded diseases of past wars, bubonic plague and typhus epidemic, which even during the World War infested the Russian and Serbian ranks, are transmitted by insect bites, infected fleas, and body lice. Of course, one could imagine recently inoculated rats dropped in cages by means of parachutes from enemy airplanes. The cages open and the rats crawl into basements and loft buildings, infected fleas jump about, bite humans, and within a short time bubonic plague is rampant throughout the land.

But even in such a highly imaginative case the devil is not so black as painted. During an epidemic of Black Death in the Punjab in 1924, which killed hundreds of thousands of Indians, barely six white persons died among British troops and other Europeans stationed within the infected area. Somehow the plague seems to halt before civilized peoples. Cleanliness is the best protection against this epidemic.

No More Cooties

In order to produce an epidemic, typhus lice would have to be implanted within the clothing. That this trick should be accomplished successfully may not even be expected of the most resourceful spies. Moreover, there are now means of destroying lice in a very simple manner, and louse infestation is, therefore, not to be feared in the next war. Consequently, epidemics of typhoid are eliminated from the possibilities of bacterial warfare.

However very dangerous organisms, which might be mobilized for bacterial warfare, are the spore-forming invaders of tetanus, gas gangrene, and anthrax. All these agents have been mentioned as possible war-weapons. It is well known that wounds infected with these bacilli cause terrible suffering even for the slightly wounded. But, fortunately, in this case it would remain an experiment with unsuitable means. For in the first place, they are not communicable and, in the second place, shells would have to be used as carriers of the infective agents. These are, as is well known, naturally disinfecting, because no living organism can withstand the temperature generated by exploding artillery shell.

And—last but not least—warfare biologists mention the possible use of toxic products derived from bacteria. The toxin of the bacillus botulinus is so powerful that instances have been recorded where .005 milligram would kill a guinea pig. For a human being one-half milligram is equally deadly, whether consumed with food, injected into tissue, or dropped upon the mucous membrane or conjunctiva. A spoonful would be enough to poison the whole population of a large city. A single airplane could carry enough botulinus toxin to destroy the World's entire population. But although these figures are mathematically correct, it is not so simple in practice. While it will not be difficult to produce the necessary amount of botulin and transport it, the real problem involved is how it shall be administered.

Bullets, Gas, Germs

There were over 100 billion bullets manufactured during 1914-18, enough to kill the entire population 50 times. But a few of us are still alive. And so it is with botulin. The disease symptoms, caused by botulin, are similar to those of typhus and cholera, and the means of defense are similar, too. And little as we have to fear an artificial cholera epidemic in future warfare, we need not be unduly alarmed about secret botulin poisoning at the enemy's hands, because bacterial toxins are readily destroyed by the simple expedient of heating. Therefore, like bacteria, they are unsuited for transmission in shells.

Even this brief summary shows that biologic or bacterial warfare is a phantom of the future which, while it may scare timid persons, cannot equal in effectiveness the implements of destruction already known. After all, human beings come in daily contact with innumerable bacilli, and there is no reason to believe that they should do much more injury to civilized people in time of war. Admittedly, bacterial warfare will cause a certain amount of trouble, but it will be easier to deal with than chemical gas warfare.

In conclusion it may be said that the important factor in the development of implements of warfare has been effectiveness. It is, therefore, apparent that the question of whether chemical munitions will be used or not, and whether bacterial warfare will be used or not, depends on their respective practicability rather than on the sentimental reactions of pacifists. Certainly, at the present time, almost insurmountable technical difficulties rise up to prevent the planned use of biologic agents as effective weapons of war.

AMERICAN TREES IN EUROPE

BY OLIVE HYDE FOSTER

What has become of those fir and spruce seeds sent to Europe sixteen years ago, to rebuild the forests made bare by war?

MILLIONS upon millions of American trees growing in England, Scotland, Ireland, Belgium and France are being added to the inventory which these countries are now making of their future resources.

These trees are replacing the forests destroyed between 1914 and 1919 by rifle and shell fire, or cut down to supply the innumerable needs for wood in that gigantic conflict. They now cover thousands of acres of land desolated by war's destructiveness and they are growing to a height and girth which, the experts report, are greater for a year of growth than any native European trees.

Among the many acts for healing the wounds of war there are few which have the human appeal made by the gift of these American recruits, which in themselves and the progeny which they will bear are to be of tremendous aid in providing for the future forest needs of Great Britain—Ireland, Scotland, Wales—Belgium and France.

That they are in existence in these countries is due to one man. He is Charles Lathrop Pack, of Lakewood, New Jersey, president of the American Tree Association. For many years a leader in forestry, he originated the idea, when the great war ended, of sending a special commissioner to Europe to report upon the effects of artillery fire on the forests of France and Belgium, and upon the depletion of other forests beyond the actual fighting zone for the numerous needs of war.

The reports of forest devastation were that practically every transplantable tree in Great Britain had been cut down for use in the mines, for fuel and for other war requirements; that Belgian forests had been cut and the timber shipped to Germany; that France suffered heavily in the war area and elsewhere.

Mr. Pack pushed his inquiries further and ascertained from leading foresters in the allied countries that they had no forest-tree seeds available for reforestation in the denuded areas, and no money to purchase any, and that immediate steps for replacement of the destroyed forests were necessary as a safeguard for the future. Great Britain, facing a vital need for timber in her mining operations (especially for coal) if in future years she be blockaded, was eager to start reforestation to provide for home-grown supplies.



Mr. Pack (right) presents tree seeds to representatives of France.

Inspired by the forest needs of the stricken countries, Mr. Pack proposed to them the idea of planting Douglas Fir and Sitka Spruce. Owing to similarity in climatic conditions, he believed that these trees would thrive on large areas in northern England, southern Scotland, northern Ireland, northern France and southern Belgium.

Finding European foresters enthusiastic, and keenly appreciative of this evidence of international good will, Mr. Pack arranged to have hundreds of men and women gather seeds of the Douglas Fir and Sitka Spruce on the western slopes of the Cascade Mountains in Washington and Oregon. The first shipment of tens of millions of seeds was made in January 1920.

Assorted and placed in bags holding fifty pounds each, the seeds were piled high on historic Boston Common and presented to the diplomatic representatives of Great Britain, Belgium and France. Each pound of Douglas Fir comprised approximately 60,000 seeds, each pound of Sitka Spruce 90,000 seeds.

Transplanted Twice

Year after year for the next five years similar donations were made by Mr. Pack, until ample supplies of carefully selected seeds of these two famous American trees had been given to the European countries.

They were planted in nurseries, grown for two years as seedlings, transplanted to other nurseries, grown for two or three years more, and then placed in the denuded forest areas.

It was with these facts in mind that on a recent visit to Great Britain, I decided to find out for myself if the American seed of Douglas Fir and Sitka Spruce had fulfilled expectations, and of what present-day value they may be. Sir Roy Robinson, head of the British Forestry Commission, and Sir John Sutherland, member of the Scottish Forestry Commission, and other officials, told me of the inestimable value of the seeds and arranged for me to visit forests where they are growing—out-



Mr. Pack's fir trees near Loch Katrine and their Scottish forester.

standing symbols of good will and fellowship.

Indeed, everywhere I went, on an extended trip, every forester I met expressed in some way the feelings of one who before I left said: "Please thank Mr. Pack for me, for having had the honor and the privilege of growing these American trees".

A large quantity of the seed, I found, had been placed in nurseries in the famous Windsor Forest, where a goodly portion of the old forest itself had been sacrificed to the need of war. After development in these nurseries, the seedlings were distributed to different sections of Scotland, Ireland, northern England and Wales. In some distant places where it would have been difficult to transport and plant seedlings, the seed itself was sent and grown locally; and at Loch Katrine, in the Trossachs, I was shown special machinery developed for such forestry purposes. In Scotland I traveled up one side of the noted Caledonian Canal and down the other, seeing great masses of these American trees, proudly shown by the men who had grown them.

I traveled down the big valley from Inverness to Onich, where there were many plantings close together. I saw

them at Glen Tanar, Glengarry, at South Laggan—in which latter place they were planted with European Larch, though the European tree had not done so well. Here the Douglas Fir and Sitka Spruce are from twenty to twenty-five feet high. Many more I saw in the lovely Lady-of-the-Lake country and near famous Ben Lomond.

Some of the Douglas Fir and Sitka Spruce plantations were in great stretches with trees ranging in height from five to ten feet, these being the ones last shipped. Those grown from the first seeds, sent in 1920, have reached upwards of twenty-five feet with girth at the base of from five to seven inches. Most noteworthy of all is that these trees are growing in soil where the more familiar English beech and oak will not do well.

Life Depends on Timber

It was fascinating to find American trees growing in the famous Forest of Dean, which for centuries was the source of timber for building Britain's warships. It was this forest that the commander of the Spanish Armada—unexpectedly repulsed, wrecked and with its supremacy lost forever—was ordered to burn when he landed in England.

Not far away is the forest recently pronounced the finest in Wales and renamed on that account, at the time of the recent royal jubilee, Coed-y-Brenin, which means the King's Wood. Not far from the little town of Lydney I came across our familiar fir and spruce growing near the recently discovered remains of a Roman settlement which existed more than 2000 years ago.

In northern Ireland, where (as along the west coast of Scotland) humidity and general climatic conditions are similar to those in Oregon and Washington, the Douglas Fir and Sitka Spruce are prospering. Reports from northern France and from Belgium, while not so gratifying, are sufficiently satisfactory to make certain that these American trees will—with their descendants—provide a goodly part of the timber of the future for the allied countries.

What these trees of Mr. Pack's mean today, with war again threatening, is evident when we realize that Great Britain's life actually is dependent on timber. This not only for ordinary commercial use, fuel, housing, but for part of its shipbuilding, its railroad cars, ties and telephone poles. Most important of all is a timber supply for "pit props", which make the mine walls safe in the removal of those vital necessities—coal, iron and other minerals, so essential in peace or in conflict.



WALES

The soil is Welsh, but the seed was American. A snapshot of the author, amid Douglas fir trees set out six years ago.

WILL UNIONISM BE COMPULSORY?

BY LEO WOLMAN

Labor legislation resting on a policy of economic control has brought a new inflexibility into the relations of employer and worker, from which neither side stands to profit.

THE DOMINANT influence in current trends in industrial relations is the labor and economic policy of the Government. This policy undertakes to deal with much more than the simple question of the right of labor to organize and to bargain collectively as that question has been traditionally interpreted in this country. The terms of the laws and executive orders relating to unionism and collective bargaining may in themselves be novel and far-reaching. But they are subordinate to the economic principles and purposes underlying the labor legislation adopted by the federal government since June, 1933. These economic principles are inextricably associated with prevailing labor policy, and in any analysis of our new labor law the one cannot be separated from the other.

Legislative Policy

The policy on which this legislation rests is quite clear. It is a policy of economic control. Its application must inevitably lead to the regulation of wages, prices, production, and finally the methods of industrial management. It is in fact the beginning of a process of monopolization, under government sponsorship and supervision. And it is based on the assumption or belief that stable business and high standards of living can be achieved through the control of at least wages and prices. Next to these fundamental features of policy, the specific labor provisions of actual and proposed laws, while important in themselves, are largely incidental to this main purpose.

The emergence of this policy and the form it has taken under the many auspices charged with producing prosperity and reforming labor relations are to be found in many places. Thus the Wagner-Connery Act, di-

rected at unfair labor practices in industrial relations, states in its preamble that "the inequality of bargaining power between employees . . . and employers . . . tends to aggravate recurrent business depressions, by depressing wage rates and the purchasing power of wage earners in industry and by preventing the stabilization of competitive wage rates and working conditions within and between industries."

This is obviously a far-reaching statement of policy. It certainly goes far beyond any of the historical and accepted arguments in support of collective bargaining. It is in fact a theory of business depressions which attributes the depth and duration of depression to the decline in wage rates. Taken literally it would prohibit the frequent adjustments of wages to changing economic conditions which some business has hitherto seemed to find essential to survival. However interpreted, it is essentially a policy of wage-fixing; and from wage-fixing to price-fixing is only a short step.

The measures of control which are only suggested in the Wagner-Connery Act are the core of the Guffey-Snyder Act. This Act declares unequivocally that the "general welfare of the Nation requires that the bituminous coal industry be regulated." It directs the industry to fix minimum prices for coal in the various producing areas. And it virtually ties up price with wage-fixing by providing that: "In order to sustain the stabilization of wages, working conditions, and maximum hours of labor . . . prices shall be established so as to yield a return per net ton . . . equal as nearly as may be to the weighted average of the total costs per net ton . . ."

Even more thorough-going provisions for control are contained in the

bill intended to "rehabilitate and stabilize labor conditions in the textile industry of the United States; to prevent unemployment, to regulate child labor and to provide minimum wages, maximum hours, and other conditions of employment . . ." This bill introduced in the House by Congressman Ellenbogen also considers the difficulties of the industry to have been caused "directly and primarily by the instability of wage rates and other labor costs . . . by excessive competition in extending the hours of labor, in the employment of child labor, and in lowering wage rates and other labor costs, by over-expansion and excess capacity of the productive equipment of the industry, and by denial of the right of employees to organize and bargain collectively."

Broad Authority

The solution for the well-known difficulties of the vast textile industry, this bill finds in a variety of regulations. Minimum wages for unskilled labor are fixed at \$15 a week and maximum hours at 35. The National Textile Commission, created by the bill, is authorized to fix minimum wages for all occupations and all classes of skill, and is thus empowered to determine the wage scale of the whole textile industry. It is directed also to devise a plan for the regularization of employment and to report to Congress on the "feasibility of establishing a guaranteed minimum annual wage income in the textile industry."

By the terms of this bill any textile employee may protest any change in the specifications of his job, and where the protest is not satisfactorily adjusted with the employer the Commission assumes jurisdiction and makes an investigation. Meanwhile the Commission may require that the

proposed change in work assignment be suspended pending its investigation and report. Finally, as if these powers were not broad and drastic enough, the Commission is authorized "to investigate from time to time the organization, business, conduct, practices, and management of any person engaged in the textile industry . . ."

This interesting "labor" bill has not become law. In the middle of April, 1936, it was reported favorably by the sub-committee of the House Committee on Labor, and it has the support of many unions. Extreme and impractical as the terms of this measure appear to be, they are consonant with many of the principles upon which the Government proposes to act and with its policy to extend the jurisdiction and influence of trade unionism.

The intent of government policy had indeed already become evident in the short-lived policies of the NRA. It was in the very early stages of the Recovery Administration that organized labor began to complain against limiting wage regulation to fixing minimum wages for unskilled labor, and to insist on including complete scales of wages in the codes of

fair competition. The textile union from the very outset urged government control over the introduction of machinery and initiated the investigations by a government board of the workload of textile employees.

The older the NRA got the more obvious it became that its labor policy was moving irresistibly toward the extension of government regulation over a widening range of the policies and activities of private industry. The last and most crucial act under the Recovery Administration was the issue of an Executive Order by the President raising the wages and reducing the hours in an industry which had refused to accept a recommendation to the same effect made by the Industrial Recovery Board of the NRA.

This identification of labor policy with industrial control is one of the most significant developments of these last years. It is an evidence of the degree to which organized labor has become dependent on government for its existence and for what it considers to be gains in working conditions. It shows also how dependent the Government believes rising rates of wages, reduced hours and restric-

tions of the output of labor are on the regulation of industry. It raises fundamental questions as to the effect of such a policy on the welfare of labor and the future of trade unionism. And it furnishes the key to the character of the opposition of industry to the labor policy of this Administration and to the type of industrial relations which commends itself to the majority of employers.

Whatever devices, good or bad, American employers have invented for the purpose of preserving harmonious relations between themselves and their employees, their labor policy is directed toward achieving relative freedom and flexibility in management. The ablest managers of industry attribute the successful operation of their plants to the freedom they have enjoyed in adjusting their operations to developments in technical and business conditions, in rewarding merit among their employees, in utilizing the most efficient and economical methods of production, and, hence, in maintaining flexible schedules of costs.

To this freedom they ascribe the acknowledged primacy of American industry in the science and art of management, the extraordinarily high levels of labor productivity in this country, and the prevalence of wage rates which are high historically and in comparison with standards of wages anywhere else in the world.

The forms of industrial relations they favor consequently reflect this attitude of mind. Employee-representation plans, based on plant or company organization of employees, employers regard as the most efficient instrument for laying down the rules governing conditions of employment and allowing the necessary elasticity in managerial policy. By the same token they view the trade union, with its policies of restriction of output and maintenance of wage rates, as a formidable obstacle in the way of essential business adjustments and as one of the effective causes of reduced employment and earnings.

While union policies and rules are far from being the exclusive source of the inflexibilities which may block employment and reduce earnings, they frequently have been an important factor in contributing to that result. Many of the major defeats of trade unions in this country have resulted from their failure or inability to move fast enough in the face of changing economic conditions. The vicissitudes to which all unions in the garment industries have been periodically subject are as much a consequence of inflexible union policy as of the opposition of employers to organized labor. And the troublesome problems associated with the

THE MARCH OF EVENTS—AT HOME

(It is a season of preferential primaries, with Republican contests in the spotlight because in Democratic ranks there is no opposition to President Roosevelt.)

Townsend Plan inquiry by the House, begun on March 26, yields information that probably \$1,000,000 was collected from members of Townsend clubs and other believers in \$200-a-month pensions for the aged. Meanwhile the co-founder breaks with Dr. Townsend over politics and retires, likewise its sponsor in the House, McGroarty of California.

Minnesota's Farmer-Laborites, in convention dominated by Governor Floyd B. Olson, demand a system of planned plenty as opposed to the present system of planned poverty, and vote to explore the possibilities of a farmer-labor national ticket this year. March 28.

Maine Republicans in convention ratify a slate of 13 delegates to the National convention, unpledged but favoring Frank Knox for President. April 2.

Eastern railroads, with the exception of Baltimore & Ohio, ask the I.C.C. to postpone for 18 months the basic passenger rate of 2 cents a mile (instead of 3.6 cents) ordered for June 2. Counting increased cost, the Pennsylvania Railroad, for example, would need an 87 per cent upturn to compensate for loss of \$12,324,000 in passenger fares. April 6.

Supreme Court, 6 to 3, declares that the Securities and Exchange Commission, in a case before it, was "wholly unreasonable and arbitrary", violating the precept that this shall be a government of laws. The Court warns against bureaus and commissions encroaching upon fundamental rights of the people. April 6.

AAA's large payments are reported by Secretary Wallace to the Senate, by request. Three sugar companies—in Florida, Puerto Rico, and Hawaii—received approximately \$1,000,000 each. Top payment for cotton control, \$123,747 in 1934 alone, went to a Mississippi company managed by an AAA official. Largest payment for not raising hogs, \$150,000, went to a California farm. April 6.

Borah of Idaho wins his first delegates, in the Wisconsin primary; 21 of the state's 24 votes in the Republican national convention will be his. April 7.

President Roosevelt, addressing Young Democrats in Baltimore (and elsewhere by radio), notes that in one industry since the demise of NRA average hours have been increased from 36.4 weekly to 39.9, possibly putting 16,650 persons out of work. He asks industry to "undertake reasonable reductions of hours of work while they keep the pay envelope at least as large as it is today." April 13.

The Illinois Republican preferential primary is carried by Frank Knox, Chicago newspaper publisher, favorite son, and organization candidate. Opposing him was Senator Borah, doing especially well outside of Chicago. April 14.

Passamaquoddy (Maine) tide-harnessing for power and Florida ship-canal projects are apparently abandoned, after \$12,000,000 had been spent. The President states that no further amounts will be allocated from relief funds. Congress never had approved. April 15.



Arrest these Enemies

WHAT wouldn't mothers and fathers have given in Colonial days to guard their children against the diseases which today your doctor can prevent?

Three of the scourges which formerly took thousands of lives can be kept under control. Every child, and adult too, can now be protected against smallpox, diphtheria and typhoid fever.

Smallpox has practically disappeared in the States where vaccination is widely practiced. In communities where families ignore this protection, it still smoulders, though protected families are safe.

Diphtheria is rapidly being stamped out by immunization against it. Nevertheless, 3,000 children in this country died of it last year. Have your baby inoculated when he is six months old. A later test will determine whether or not further inoculation is desirable. Then, should diphtheria break out



in your neighborhood, he will be immune.

Typhoid claims comparatively few victims except where suitable sanitary and preventive medical practices have been neglected.

Your doctor can tell you of the means that are used to check epidemics of scarlet fever, whooping cough and measles — and of the vaccines, antitoxins and serums which soften the attacks of these diseases and make the after-effects less damaging.

If, when you were little, you escaped serious consequences from any or all of these diseases, you were lucky. Don't let your child run the same risks. At the time of your child's regular physical examination, the doctor will be able to advise concerning immunization and the building up of resistance against disease.

You are welcome to a free copy of "Out of Babyhood Into Childhood." When you ask for it please address Booklet Dept. 536-V.

Keep Healthy — Be Examined Regularly

METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

FREDERICK H. ECKER, PRESIDENT

ONE MADISON AVE., NEW YORK, N. Y.

©1936 M. L. I. CO.

migration of industry from one locality to another might in many instances have been avoided if reasonable efforts had been made to adjust union policy to the legitimate requirements of business.

The current railroad situation is perhaps another illustration of the doubtful wisdom of typical union policies. In this industry employment steadily declined from 1920 to 1929. During the depression the decline continued at an accelerated rate. Wages were temporarily cut 10 per cent and are now back to where they were before the depression. Working rules have remained untouched. The railroad unions are at this time at the peak of their economic and political power. Efforts to adjust the operations of the industry to the competition of other forms of transportation have so far proved unavailing in the face of the new and additional burdens in cost which these adjustments would entail. In this case excessive capital charges and the inertia of management joined with the inhibitions imposed by union policy may easily retard the rate of increase in railroad payrolls which at the end of 1935 were 45 per cent below payrolls for the three-year period, 1923-25.

Much the same comment can be made on the state of employment in the anthracite coal industry, which in trends of business and industrial relations bears a close resemblance to the railroad industry. Anthracite coal mines have been thoroughly unionized for many years. The industry has suffered severely from the competition of cheaper substitute fuels and employment and payrolls were

steadily decreasing even before 1930. Rates of wages were maintained throughout the depression at something more than 80 cents an hour. During 1935 payrolls were 53 per cent below 1929.

In the building industry, likewise, rigidities in the structure of wages and costs have for some time been considered a retarding influence of the first order. It is, indeed, far from clear in all such situations that the maintenance of wage rates and of the many prohibitions practised by unions contributes materially to the prosperity of their members. There is on the contrary considerable evidence in the history of both wages and employment that the capacity of an industry for adjustment is the surest source of its own prosperity and of that of its employees.

It is clear that a policy of industrial control which contemplates the regulation of prices and production as well as the practices of management is bound to restrict the opportunities for employment. Since the trade union is essentially an instrument for the exercise of such control, the policy of universal unionization may be expected to have the same effects. While limited monopolistic groups, practising restriction of output and price-fixing, often better their own conditions, they do so usually at the expense of the rest of the population.

In this atmosphere of state control, those who associate the enormous advance in the standard of living of American workingmen during a half-century with the developments of competitive business, have good reason to be apprehensive of the future.

wealthy one. Aberhart, however, had been smart. A high-school principal, in a province not especially noted for its educational standards, may have more horse sense than a brain-truster who occupies a chair in an American university. So Aberhart had made promises from the right side, as well as the left side, of his rostrum. He would repudiate and confiscate nothing, he had declared. If the payments should threaten the province's credit, they would not be made.

With his inauguration last September the season for promises was over, and Aberhart settled down to the more prosaic task of running a province that was heavily in debt. His first act was to journey to Ottawa to beg a Dominion loan. He also wrote to the inventor of the idea of Social Credit, in London, to come to Edmonton where his theories were to be put into practice. But Major Douglas failed to seize that opportunity for greater fame.

All that was eight or nine months ago. Now Alberta enjoys the distinction of being the first Canadian province to default upon its bonded debt. It owes about 148 millions. One of Aberhart's ideas is that this debt should be converted into perpetual stock, interest-bearing but never maturing. Upon that stock he would pay 3 per cent. A debt that you never have to pay is less bothersome than one which falls due.

For instance, some 3.2 millions of Alberta's debt came due on April 1. The money had been borrowed in war time, twenty years ago. By coincidence, the privilege of the Dominion government at Ottawa to come to the financial rescue of provinces was substantially curbed by legislation which expired on that same day. Ottawa still could help; but if it were to fill the purse again, and perhaps again, it must afterward exercise some control over the purse-strings. The Dominion government is already the largest holder of Alberta bonds.

Alberta declined to surrender financial independence. It provided interest due, but could not find the money to redeem the matured bonds.

Meanwhile the legislature at Edmonton proceeds with laws looking toward the compulsory conversion of its debt into a form which need never be paid. This is not repudiation, but a rose by some other name. Meanwhile, also, another province—British Columbia—approaches a maturity date for 3½ millions in bonds on May 15, looking to Ottawa to furnish the money but objecting to the terms.

Are there lessons to be found in Dominion experience regarding ever-mounting government debts, as well as regarding promises by idealists that cannot be fulfilled?

ABERHART OF ALBERTA

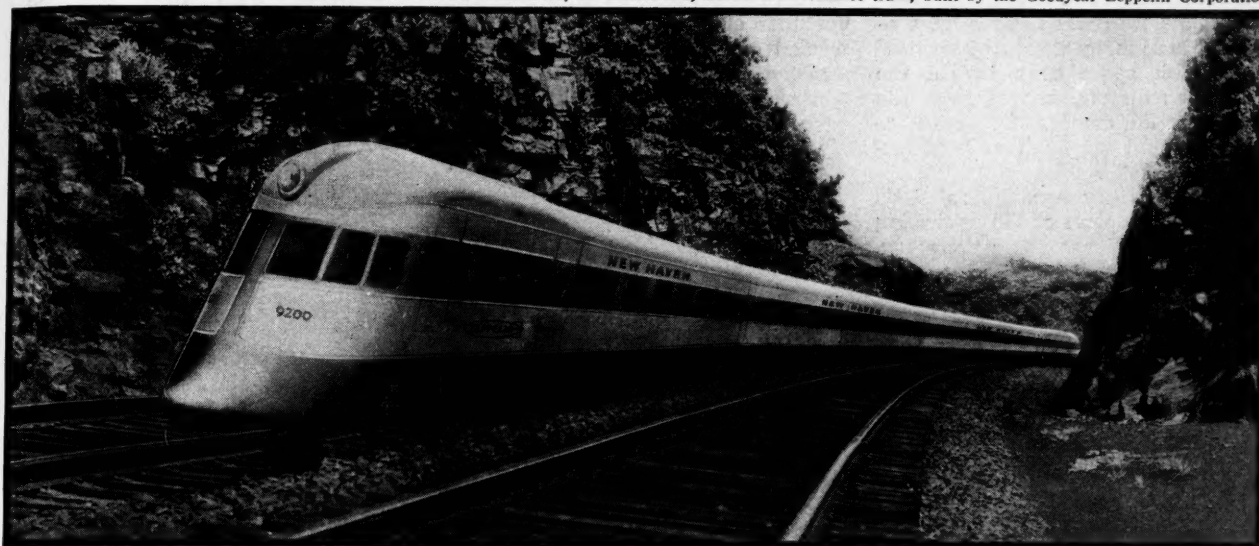
The people wait for dividends, while investors fail to collect their loans.

OF ALL the schemes for making everybody wealthy by passing a law, instead of by old-fashioned, horse-and-buggy methods, that of Alberta was farthest advanced. The voters of this western prairie province of our neighbor to the north had swept into office a new Social Credit party dominated by William Aberhart, Calgary high-school principal and disciple of London's Major Clifford Hugh Douglas. They had given Aberhart 56 seats in the provincial legislature at Edmonton, against 7 for the opposition.

That was last August, and the good farmer folk began to plan for the \$25

monthly "dividend" which their newly elected Premier had promised for each citizen, man, woman, and child. Alberta has never suffered from birth control, and families there are larger than in some parts of the United States. A family allowance from the province thus might be nearer \$200 monthly than \$100; and living in Alberta is fairly cheap. Perhaps this was the long-sought Utopia.

But Alberta was already in what is widely known as financial difficulties. Possibly it is not harder for a bankrupt community to give generously to all its people than for a



STRANGLING OUR RAILROADS

BY ALBERT SHAW

Can American railroading be put back on a sound financial basis? The opportunity to build up reserves in good years, and to solve its labor problems sensibly, would help.

THIS YEAR 1936 might prove in our railroad history to be a date marking the turning point from a bad period to a new and better era. The railroads once represented our greatest industrial triumph and our largest field for profitable investment. They were the chief agency in the settlement and development of the two-thirds of the United States west of the Mississippi River. But in their pride perhaps some of the railway magnates became more interested in their great game of finance than in improved service and responsiveness to public opinion. One of them is chiefly remembered in some quarters as having been carelessly remarked, "The public be damned!"

Mr. Vanderbilt was misquoted by a reporter who afterwards admitted that the head of the New York Central system had not used the famous phrase defying public opinion. But for thirty years after the Civil War there was an era of intense competition, and our new railroad systems were at the center of the economic and speculative struggles of the last third of the nineteenth century.

But the trans-Mississippi communities soon became more aggressive and insistent than the railroad barons and their political and legal lieutenants. Anti-railroad sentiment gained control of the legislatures. Local regulation was followed by federal laws, with the Interstate Commerce Commission gradually assuming a range of authority that subjected the railroads to such regulation and control as in due time to make it almost impossible for railway financiers to protect the rights of security holders.

Western land values reached fancy heights, while Eastern land values, from Ohio and Kentucky to Virginia, New York and New England, suffered a terrible decline after the year 1880. This was due to our public-land policy, the too speedy development of the prairies, and the demand for such low freight rates as to give our New West the mastery of eastern consuming markets, and also those of western Europe, for such food products as wheat and corn, cattle and hogs. The railroads were made slaves to a false system, that destroyed agricultural prosperity in the East while

it interfered with the normal acquisition of varied industries by western states that ought to have consumed a larger share of their own farm products.

To sum it up, political interference with the rate-making power became in due time the chief agency in the slow process of draining away the prosperity of the transportation systems. An abnormal condition was created that could not be maintained without dangerous shocks. When farms in Iowa were selling for from ten to twenty times as much as better farms well situated in the East, the disparity was too great for any kind of justification. When in 1922 European markets were cut off, and the East became too poor to buy pork and beef, western banks failed by the hundreds, even by the thousands.

The wheat contracts and the corn-hog contracts of the AAA were so devised as to restore the false prosperity of the West by taxing the entire public to make gifts of government money, to the extent of hundreds of millions of dollars a year, under political pressure for no just

reason whatsoever. To help sustain this artificial system of regional prosperity, the railroads have been victimized in so many ways that it would take much space even to list the grievances that the managers of the roads and the owners of railroad securities could set forth without excuse or apology.

Half a century ago the railroads may have partaken of the prevailing faults of an intense competitive era. But such faults belong to the past. At the present time no economic service, whether public or private, is performed with such complete regard for the public interest as that which is rendered by our indispensable network of railways. They ought to be allowed to live and to prosper and the time has come for them to assert their rights with the utmost vigor.

For perhaps twenty-five years immediately following the Civil War, the railroad heads allowed too much freedom to division superintendents and their underlings in the matter of hiring and firing trainmen and other employees. They would not listen to workmen committees' complaints in any form. Much less would they countenance collective agreements regarding wages and conditions. The country was compelled to suffer from violent and protracted railroad strikes.

The result was inevitable, the pendulum swinging too far the other way. Railroad labor assumed a sacrosanct air of superiority to other kinds of wage-earning employment. Did not the locomotive engineer protect our lives, as we undertook the adventure of a ride on railroad trains?—and so forth and so forth, down through twenty-one railroad unions or brotherhoods. These railway unions, acting together as a powerful lobby agency, have been able to control legislation in their own interests, to the detriment of efficient and economical adjustment of the operating budget of all railroad companies.

Pioneer Days

Across the face of a great country, millions of new farmers had surplus wheat, cattle, and hogs to ship. Sawmill men were mowing down the forests, and forwarding millions of carloads of lumber to create new towns and provide farm buildings on the prairies. All of these and many other shippers demanded the lowest possible rates; and all the brotherhoods went into politics for the highest possible wages. The magnates, meanwhile, in the extension of their rail empires, had entered into partnership with Wall Street. The selling of railroad bonds to insurance companies and to the estates of widows and orphans laid the foundation for

those great bankers' fortunes that were built up side by side with the fortunes of the bold men who controlled the rail systems that were constantly expanding in rivalry with those of competing or overlapping empires.

After all, these epitomized reflections sound much worse than things actually were. In pioneer times there are always the healthy sounds of clashing interest, as energetic men compete. Railway managements afterwards came into generally harmonious relations with their employees, and there was much mutual respect. Managers made their way upward from the ranks, as they earned promotion. Brotherhoods developed intelligent and responsible leadership from their own numbers. State railway and utility commissions were of use as buffers. The Interstate Commerce Commission became by far too elaborate in its mechanism of financial and technical regulation; but owners, managers, shippers, wage-earning groups and the larger public all learned that the Commission was intending, however absurdly at times, to use its bureaucratic powers for the well-being of everybody concerned.

A Break in 1936?

Industrial history is not made by advances on even fronts. It was convenient to tax the railroads, and they were greatly over-taxed. Owners and managers ceased to dominate legislatures and influence politics. Brotherhoods and long-haul shippers controlled the votes; and their lobbies had the ear of the politicians. The high-handed old empire-builders had passed away. Railroads were in the hands of well-trained salaried executives. They did their own work well, but they could not wholly eliminate certain traditional influences surviving in their boards of directors. Nor could they free themselves from the perilous load of mortgage indebtedness which meant possible bankruptcy for the roads, whenever net incomes vanished in hard-time cycles.

Meanwhile, other industries of colossal magnitude had arisen, notably that of the automobile. The railroads were paying heavy taxes to help provide free highways for omnibuses, trucks, and private passenger cars. But 80 per cent of the freight traffic was still carried by rail; the companies possessed immensely valuable facilities; and the country was still depending upon rail services. Since this was true, and since millions of people directly or indirectly had invested savings in this first and greatest field of economic enterprise, it was reasonable to expect that a better time would come.

The railroads had borne more punishment than they deserved. Remedies had been discussed long enough, and some of them might be applied. The politicians were now hounding the electrical industry. Commissions wished to regulate the bus and truck businesses. The labor bosses were eager to unionize steel and the motor companies. It seemed as if there might be a moment of relenting in the general persecution of railroads, in short, a 1936 "break" for this ill-treated industry.

Status of Employees

An Emergency Transportation Act had been passed in 1933. The roads were on the verge of bankruptcy, and a number of them were toppling over. A Coordinator of Transportation was appointed (Joseph B. Eastman, one of the members of the Interstate Commerce Commission) to help the roads find ways to economize through co-operation. But every Washington policy is directly contradicted by some other Washington policy. The chief object of coördination and economy from the standpoint of railway solvency must have been to reduce the labor cost of needless duplication. But the Emergency Act that expires on June 16 of the present year provided that there must be no reduction of the number of employees below the level of May, 1933. This relates only to results of terminal consolidation between separate roads, and can be excused for emergency reasons.

Naturally railroads would keep their regular, essential employees. But they have been required by law to keep supernumeraries regardless of needs and conditions. If every farmer owning and operating a minimum of 160 acres were required by law to keep two farm hands on standard yearly salaries in addition to family labor, and to employ specified extra help in summer, this might, indeed, not inconvenience some farmers. But it would put many others out of business. A law that requires any employer to hire and pay people whom he does not need, is un-American and pernicious.

If business recovers, and the railroads have 50 per cent more traffic, they can employ several hundred thousand more men and will be glad to do it. For many weeks past the railway unions and brotherhoods, through agents like G. M. Harrison, have been negotiating with the railroads. The Railway Labor Executive Association is a compact body for this kind of bargain-making; and the employers work through the Association of American Railroads, of which Mr. J. J. Pelley is the head.



DESIGNED FOR LIVING

Freedom from the bondage of housework! Liberty to enjoy leisure! Broader opportunity for outside activities!

What were mere wistful wishes of women a generation ago, today find complete fulfillment in the Westinghouse "Home of Tomorrow" at Mansfield, Ohio.

Completely air-conditioned... Illuminated with all the practical artistry of modern light... Equipped with the most modern electrical appliances... Here is a home in which

the drudgery of housework becomes a group of fascinating pursuits.

Built as a research laboratory for trying out new and advanced ideas, the "Home of Tomorrow" achieved national renown as the latest word in the application of electricity to household needs. Operated today as the "Home of Tomorrow" Institute its facilities are devoted to training home economists, and those in allied professions, whose



The Westinghouse Kitchen Planning Department will design a kitchen to fit your home, arranging it scientifically to save steps.

daily responsibility is to spread knowledge of the easy electrical way of doing things.

The "Home of Tomorrow" is a dramatic expression of the spirit and service of this Company throughout its 50 years. Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Company, East Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

50 YEARS OF ACHIEVEMENT



The brotherhoods have learned to expect that they and the Government are always on one side, with the railroads and what they call Wall Street (meaning owners and investors) on the other side. So they were painfully shocked in the middle of March when they received a letter from President Roosevelt urging them to keep up their negotiations and reach a compromise among themselves, avoiding further appeal to legislation. If they could not agree, they were to come to him personally and he would try to settle remaining points. But the President was persuaded to change his mind; and before going on his fishing vacation he was said to have instructed the brotherhoods to ask Congress for whatever they wanted.

Regulating Competition

The unions had been saying that Mr. Eastman's proposed unification plans might dispense with two hundred thousand men. Also, they had a flock of bills pending in Congress. Among these was a measure to reduce railway labor from the basic eight-hour day to six hours. Another bill would limit freight trains to about sixty cars of average length, and increase the number of men in train crews. Again, the railway unions were definitely supporting Senator Wheeler's bill for government ownership of railroads. This bill of course has no prominence at the present session of Congress, but might bob up next year.

An important gain for those who are trying to bring railroads back to solvency—or rather to send them for-

ward on a new career of efficiency and success—is the recent law that brings commercial omnibuses and commercial trucks under the regulatory auspices of the Interstate Commerce Commission. A bus driver has a more difficult and perilous job than the man who drives an engine on rails with modern safety signals. Why do not the brotherhoods demand standard wages and short hours for their competitors of the omnibus and the truck? Why should the statesmen of union labor not demand, also, that a trucking company take a basic date (call it May 1, 1936) and be compelled by law to maintain the full number of its employees during a period of two years, regardless of its ability to find tonnage to carry? Why should not every locomotive engineer be required by law to keep a hired girl and patronize a union barber shop? Where do laws begin and end?

Government Operation

We may at this point sum up the statistical situation as it has changed during the past twenty years. In 1914 there were 1,710,000 railway employees in the United States, and the roads carried in that year just over two billion tons of freight, at a total wage-cost of \$1,381,000,000. The Government took the roads for war purposes, and returned them some time later. In 1920 at the height of the term of government operation there were 2,076,000 employees, and 2,428,000,000 tons of freight were handled at a total wage-cost of \$3,754,000,000. The number of employees had increased by only 366,000, but the fact that they were government employees did not prevent their total pay from reaching a sum almost three times as large as the amount received six years earlier under private operation of the roads.

In spite of political action seeking to retard the process of railroad demobilization, there was marked reduction in the army of employees after the roads were returned by the Government to their owners. Within a single year the number of employees had dropped to 1,705,000, a reduction of 371,000, and a total actually below that of 1914. The aggregate wage-payment, however, had remained as high as \$2,824,000,000.

After 1922 there was a rise in the average number of railway employees, and for six years the level of 1914 was maintained with minor fluctuations. With the improvement in locomotives and roadbeds, freight trains were longer, cars were larger, and the amount of freight carried each year in that period had increased from two billion tons per annum to an average of two and a half billions.

But there was one difference much more striking than the increase in freight tonnage. This was the amount of employees' wages. A number of men similar to the total of 1914 during the years from 1921 to 1929 were receiving an average sum of almost \$3,000,000,000 per annum. The individual railroad employee was apparently enjoying a wage-income more than twice that of 1914, along with better working conditions.

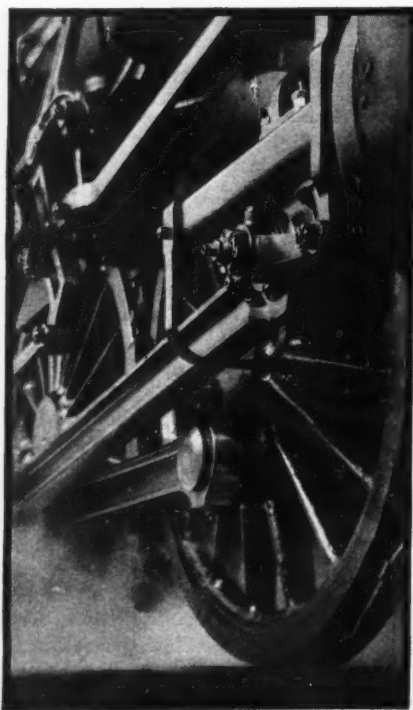
It was not until the depression years, beginning with 1932, that the number of employees was reduced by fully one-half from the post-war peak period. If the Government had continued to run the railroads, the brotherhoods would have dictated terms and policies and we should today have had two million railroad place-holders at least, serving rather inefficiently, and drawing from three to four billions in wages. This would have compared with the present actual 994,000 employees, serving the public well and drawing \$1,643,000,000 in wages as first charge upon the operating income of our railway transportation network.

Continuing Bonded Debt

It is true that few of the stockholders of the country's Class I railroads have received any dividends for some years past. But the workers have been well paid and the roads have given good service at the world's lowest rates for long-haul traffic. Interest on their bonded indebtedness is better assured as business slowly recovers; and it would seem that brighter days lie ahead for an industry that has suffered so much in the past from the ruthlessness of political tax sharks. Not to speak cryptically, the proprietors of railroads have escaped from the peril of government ownership, and are doing their best to disentangle themselves from the coils of quadruple taxation, and the restrictions imposed by the alliance between demagogue politicians and salaried labor lobbyists.

Upon the other hand, they are beginning to make their way out of the control of bankers, who have at times thought of railroads simply as properties upon which to float all sorts of issues of mortgage bonds. Owners have only begun to learn that a railroad might be so organized and managed on the financial side of its affairs as not to be exposed to foreclosure every time a business cycle reaches the low point of the depression curve.

An enterprise as recent in its history as the United States Steel Corporation had to risk the financial basis of large bonded indebtedness in its earlier period. But already, in its fourth decade, it has eliminated its



Wm. M. Rittase

	Passengers Carried	Freight Tonnage Handled	Gross Revenues	Number of Employees	Annual Wage Payments	Average Wage
1920.....	1,234,862,048	2,259,983,278	\$6,178,438,459	2,022,832	\$3,681,801,193	\$1820
1925.....	888,267,296	2,171,718,705	6,122,509,856	1,744,311	2,860,599,920	1640
1930.....	703,598,121	2,063,077,591	5,281,196,870	1,487,839	2,550,788,519	1714
1931.....	596,390,924	1,605,034,171	4,188,343,244	1,258,719	2,094,994,379	1664
1932.....	478,800,122	1,168,288,594	3,126,760,154	1,031,703	1,512,816,147	1466
1933.....	432,979,887	1,258,823,155	3,095,403,904	971,196	1,403,840,833	1445
1934.....	449,775,279	1,369,732,805	3,271,566,822	1,007,702	1,519,351,725	1508
1935.....	445,995,000	1,422,636,000	3,450,495,032	994,078	1,643,214,114	1653

bonded debt. It was once carried through the federal courts on the accusation that it was big enough relatively to harm smaller steel companies if the competitive urge were unrestrained. Monopoly theories aside, the competitors all testified that U. S. Steel was a fair, friendly and beneficent institution. It has never aimed at monopoly control, and is doubtless content now to do 25 or 30 per cent of the country's steel business.

Its present chairman, Myron Taylor, is justly credited not only with the rebuilding of the corporation's physical plant and the reorganizing of its managing personnel, but also with the reconstruction of its financial structure through the retiring of its bonded debt incubus totaling over \$400,000,000. Its finances have been so well administered that it has only to rely upon its scientific laboratories, its engineering and industrial strategists, and its commercial experience. If all-embracing genius at Washington that aims at "managed economy" does not dissipate surplus reserves of prudent companies, the U. S. Steel might in future have a dividend fund for lean years, as well as a wage fund.

Several of our great railroad systems have a hundred years of development and expansion behind them. They have had ample earnings in the past, and severe critics might say that they are without a shadow of excuse for their recent and present worries. The financial dictators of these railroad companies thirty years ago thought of U. S. Steel as a mushroom upstart, with assets by no means equal to its bonded indebtedness. But today the Steel Corporation, having paid off its debts, is in a position as solid as that of the United States itself, while the railroads have now been frowned upon if not ill-served by the very bankers who had for so long exploited them. I am not one of the severe critics, and I do not fail to understand the financial handicaps that have affected the roads in the past twenty years.

The fundamental distinction between railroads and the general run of industrial corporations lies in the fact that the roads are not allowed

to earn money, like other enterprises, in those years when earnings would be ample if not interfered with. Congress has given the I.C.C. too much power over rates, and we are inclined to think that the I.C.C. has gone beyond the intentions of the law in the exercise of that power. The railroads have been put to an almost unbearable expense and bother in furnishing data to the Coördinator and to the I.C.C. About thirty billions of dollars have been honestly invested in the railroads, and government officiousness has been carried to a point that approaches confiscation. I.C.C. promises, made in boom times, to protect railroads in bad times failed to materialize.

Any Port in a Storm

But twenty of our principal roads are today in actual bankruptcy, and others are unpleasantly near the verge. And so it happens that our railroads have been looking with undignified anxiety for the indulgent favors of a man named Jesse Jones. As everyone knows, Jesse is the genial Texas lumberman, builder, hotel man, promoter, and all-around financier who has been Chairman of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation since his appointment to that office in 1933. Mr. Hoover had appointed him as a member of the board, and Mr. Roosevelt made him its chief.

Hon. Jesse Holman Jones is perhaps the most reassuring and normal individual among all the high officials at Washington today. No one has ever seen in his eye the strange gleam that makes the typical Chamber of Commerce addict shiver and think there is something psychopathic about the mental states of the typical New Dealer. Mr. Jones is a man who might make mistakes but whose common sense never deserts him. He was a valiant servant of the Red Cross cause in the war time. One could never imagine him paying good money for the pranks and antics of the current boondoggling hand-outs. The R. F. C. has been helping business to get on its feet by a system of revolving-fund loans, well begun in the previous ad-

ministration but further expanded and finely administered by Jesse Holman Jones.

Mr. Jones does not like to see railroad systems fall into the hands of receivers, to be operated under the direction of federal judges. He has been making loans to the railroads here and there, to save them from the embarrassment and the sheer disgrace of defaulting on principal or interest or both. Being a common-sense business man, Mr. Jones knows that Standard Oil has no bonds and could not default. He is aware that the same thing is true of the General Motors Corporation, the Ford Motor Company, the International Harvester Company, and many other business institutions of investment magnitude corresponding to the principal railroad companies.

Why should a railroad system like the New York Central or the Pennsylvania have more than a dozen different kinds of mortgage bonds outstanding, aggregating in each of these two cases almost seven hundred million dollars? With greatly reduced earnings in depression years, these immensely valuable properties—always administered by prudent and honest men of high training—have been in difficult circumstances. Pennsylvania railroad stock touched the high point of 110 in 1929 and was selling at 6½ at the extreme low point in 1932. But that represents stability when compared with the stock market fluctuations of New York Central. The stock of that magnificent property rose to 256 in 1929, and sold as low as 8¾ in 1932. Pennsylvania shares have a \$50 par value.

The N. Y. Central had a long record of good earnings, and its annual dividend rate had been running at about \$6 per share for many years, until it was increased to \$7 from 1924 to 1927. Whereupon, for the next three years it was advanced to \$8, then dropping to \$6 in 1931. Since that year it has paid nothing at all to its shareholders.

To meet comparatively small obligations on their bewildering tangle of mortgage loans, these two foremost railroad systems of the entire world have had to go to the Government,



W. P. Kenney, President of Great Northern, issues convertible bonds.

and comply with its somewhat humiliating conditions. Yet the New York Central could have created a dividend reserve fund many years ago, assuring its stockholders of a steady \$3 dividend, while using its excess earnings to create sinking funds as against its mortgages. Its dividend reserves would have sufficed to carry it through the bad years of depression without wholly sacrificing its shareholders, while its sinking funds might have swept away mortgage incumbrances just as spring sunshine deals with blankets of winter snow.

This is merely "hind-sight" wisdom. The N. Y. Central was making splendid improvements at great cost. It was treating employees admirably. It was giving the public the best and safest kinds of service. Yet it was unwise in borrowing so much money, when the public authorities would not allow it to earn more revenue in good years.

The railroads are not hopelessly ruined; but if their Boards of Directors will not "take them out of the pawnshops," and out of the hands of speculators on the stock market, the shareholders ought to get together. These railroads, after all, have not been wholly owned by men, but equally by women investors. Reduced to facts and figures this statement would be more impressive if there were included the holdings of estates and trust funds for the benefit of women and children, and especially the insurance policies that name women as beneficiaries.

Many of the women shareholders in our railroad companies have held their shares of stock for long periods. The threatened wreckage of their properties has been due, in the opinion of some critics, to mistakes in financial policy. If some women were made Directors they might adopt a policy of debt reduction, even at the present low ebb of railway revenues.

They would thus save these immense properties from the bankruptcy towards which they have been headed. We do not expect railway executives to accept this idea of thrifty women Directors. Call it whimsical, if you wish, and let it go at that.

R. F. C. Loans

At the start of the present year the outstanding loans of R. F. C. to railroads amounted (in round figures) to 400 million dollars. This was somewhat larger than its remaining advances to banks and trust companies. Banking troubles, however, were temporary rather than fundamental. R. F. C.'s advances to banks totaled 711 millions at the beginning of 1934 and were reduced to 381 millions on January 1 of the present year. During the same two years, loans to railroads increased from 337 millions to 396 millions.

Some of these loans have been in dribbles, and it would require explanation to understand why our greatest eastern railway systems last year were going to Washington for small sums of money they needed. But we do not blame or criticize them. That Mr. Ickes should have advanced smaller or larger sums of P. W. A. money to carry on needed improvements and employ men was commendable from every point of view. Indeed, no strictures of any kind are intended in these comments. The sole object of this article is to center interest in the public mind upon the commendable idea that from this time forth railroad financiers should be working with their shareholders to reduce indebtedness, and to get rid of the fiscal traditions that have been the misfortune of railroad finance.

A Case in Point

The specific instance always helps the average reader to grasp the general principle. We revert therefore to the Great Northern system, and to the fine initiative of Mr. Jesse Jones in a pending or recent situation. Taking available figures, the Great Northern has somewhat less than \$250,000,000 of outstanding stock and \$355,000,000 of bonded debt, including some small government loans. Its largest bond issue dates from 1901, when \$115,000,000 of 4 per cent bonds were sold to cover purchase of a half-interest in the C. B. & Q. system. These bonds ran for only twenty years; and when the time came to meet them, in 1921, the rates for money were high and the Great Northern had to borrow at 7 per cent.

These new bonds, issued for fifteen years, were due to mature July 1 of the present year. The management

of the road was vainly wishing that Mr. Hill had sold one-hundred-year bonds thirty-five years ago. But the road is in capable hands, and its energetic president, Mr. W. P. Kenney (who operates it from St. Paul rather than from Wall Street) was determined to find a way to deal with a threatening situation. Railway credit was extremely low, but at the same time investment money was ample, and interest rates were reduced by half from the levels of fifteen years ago. With some doubts and fears, the Great Northern—having reduced this issue to an even \$100,000,000—decided to try the plan of offering 5 per cent bonds to its shareholders.

Convertible Into Stock

The sugar-coating lay in the fact that the bonds were to be convertible into stock on terms attractive to those who believed that railroads, along with the country at large, were on the eve of a prosperous era. The proposal was met with an unexpected welcome. Bids for the new 5 per cent bonds ("if and when issued") ran at once to 108. The price of Great Northern stock was doubled within a few weeks or months. The proposed refunding was to save for the stockholders two million dollars a year. The prospect of conversion of \$100,000,000 of bonds into stock, in the near future, was the best feature of the whole project, because reducing debts is thrifty and sane finance.

At this stage enters the chairman of the R. F. C. Mr. Jones asked Mr. Kenney and the directors why they were offering 5 per cent bonds when the market would probably take the issue at 4 per cent. To be brief, Mr. Jones proposed to take the whole or any part for R. F. C. at the lower rate. At first blush there were doubters and skeptics who were afraid to allow the Government to get its nose so far under the tent. They wondered if this suggestion might not foreshadow efforts to bring the Government permanently into part-ownership of the transportation lines. The same thing had been said when the Government took preferred stock in the banks. But with the bank loans already half repaid within a brief two years, that note of alarm is not even a lingering memory.

While there is a possibility that Mr. Jones might have to take some of these Great Northern bonds, it seems likely that the stockholders and the public will absorb them all. Other outstanding bonds of the same railroad, along with its stock, were promptly advanced to higher levels in the investment market. In point of fact, Mr. Jones was placing the stamp

of approval upon the convertible plan. With better times in the producing states from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Coast, and with the intelligent coöperation of its employees, the Great Northern system ought now to acquire a fresh and vigorous momentum.

What Can Railroads Do?

Looking back over a long period, it may be said, with no harsh censure, that railroads have been less apt pupils than some other business enterprises in learning the useful lessons of adversity. But they have been penalized in all sorts of ways, far beyond any rough treatment that was fairly deserved. No finer body of executives and professional men can be found than the groups who manage and operate the American railroads in this post-war period. They should be helped out of their financial straits, in order to give their undivided attention to the newer problems of transportation service.

They are now ordered to reduce passenger rates to two cents a mile. Can they make the experiment successful? They are ordered to consolidate terminals in a designated list of cities. This might result in economy as well as public convenience. But the employees are demanding that the railroads should continue (for some time, at least) to employ men regardless of the fact that the use of joint facilities would make it possible to operate with reduced numbers.

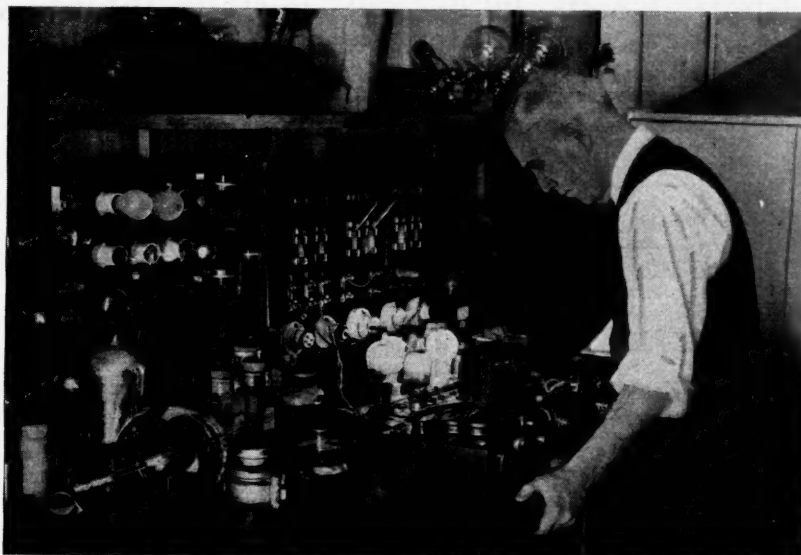
At least, at this juncture of slowly returning business prosperity and of low interest rates, with money seeking investment, the time is favorable for financial reform on the part of the individual railroad systems. Receiver-ships are to be regretted as a rule. But an honest and masterful receiver, with the moral backing of the federal courts, might lean rather heavily upon Jesse Jones and the money power at Washington. This, however, should mean a constructive program. It should rest upon the idea that roads may be brought back to solvency and also upon a justified optimism, in view of the future opportunities that lie before all our great American enterprises.

That there is much to be said is shown by the extensive outpourings of the ICC, of the Railroad Coördinator, of the Brotherhoods, and of almost everybody except the scattered and long suffering share-holders—the mere owners of the roads who have no way of taking part except to sign proxies on the dotted line. This is another subject, however, and it is not one of present-day consequence.

In spite of obstacles and difficulties, we must hold to the view that the government itself, through RFC or other agencies, should help the railroads to refund indebtedness at very low rates of interest, on condition that the roads should set aside the margins thus saved (from the burden of fixed charges) to set up sinking funds for the steady reduction of debts. Mr. Jesse Jones might go far in this direction, and thus become one of the greatest benefactors of the present period. In what other way could so much be done for the return of normal prosperity?

There is a final word to be said

about the widespread criticism that railroads have not participated in the industrial revolution that one finds in the chemical, electrical, metallurgical and other industries, through the employment of scientific and engineering research. This, again, is a subject by itself. We shall recur to it in a future article. Certainly, some interesting experiments have been tried and others are to come in the near future. Give American railroad men a fair chance, and they will rebuild their enterprises, pay off their debts, and make their shares of stock a safe and attractive form of investment for the wider public.



"FRESH STARTING POINTS"

IN SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH, there is no end to any road. Every discovery—even every failure—may suggest new fields for study.

The MAZDA lamp was an achievement. If tonight's illumination had to be produced with the carbon-filament lamps of 1904, our nightly lighting bill would jump \$5,000,000. But the G-E scientists in the Research Laboratory, in Schenectady, N. Y., were already following other trails opened by lamp research.

One trail led to the high-vacuum tube and its applications—radiobroadcasting, sensitive radio reception. Another led to tungsten points for automobile ignition, saving motorists millions of dollars each year. Others produced new safeguards for health.

Dr. Willis R. Whitney, Vice President in Charge of G-E Research, sees in the future the promise of yet greater things. "Discoveries and inventions are not terminals," he says, "they are fresh starting points from which we can climb to new knowledge."

Fresh starting points, paths to greater usefulness—these are the goals of the G-E research that has saved the public from ten to one hundred dollars for every dollar it has earned for General Electric.

GENERAL  ELECTRIC

NEW ENGLAND BECKONS

BY ROBERT HUSE

In summer time the responsibility of caring for tourists is the chief industry of these six states, which offer mountains and seashore, woods, lakes, and sports in infinite variety.



Connecticut, but suggestive also of the famous New Hampshire notches.

IN THE EAGER search for interesting solutions of the vacation question, experienced travelers and summer-home seekers are turning increasingly to one of the country's oldest recreation centers—New England. They are finding in this neat, colorful, and compact northeastern corner of the United States, comprising a mere 2 per cent of the area of the country, an intriguing variety of ways to enjoy life. Mountains, seashore, countryside, lakes, virgin forests are all close at hand, ready at the convenience of the recreation seeker.

Villages with old-world charm, too, and the warm glamor of the very fields and streets and buildings where early American history was made are here, side by side with cities famous for their learning and culture, statesmanship, industry or finance.

Nor is New England devoid of things which challenge the imagination of those to whom a vacation means physical activity. Mountaineering offers every variation, from strenuous rock-climbing for experienced alpinists, to the casual hike up well-marked trails. Famous golf courses, facilities for tennis everywhere, hundreds of miles of marked horseback trails, smart yachting centers, surf-bathing at the beaches or swimming in pine-shaded, spring-fed inland waters are only some of the things New England offers to those who must be ever active.

An hour's drive from New York and you are literally launched on a New England vacation which, with a little foresight, can comprise the most varied and refreshing of experiences, for New England is lavishly supplied by Nature with a variety of recreational attractions and appeals. To these basic qualities, both history and modern enterprise have added. Accessible by every means, divulging new contrasts with every hour, New

England is a constant invitation to the traveler to explore further. Airlines operate regularly in New England, and in recent seasons have been increasingly the means of prolonging vacations or making week-ends possible. Fast train service and coastwise steamship services make New York, and cities even farther away, not impossible mid-week interludes for those who must face economic realities.

Should you prefer a week-end interlude there's the boat-train trip to Cape Cod—to Fall River overnight in a Fall River Line steamer, and on to the Cape in the New Haven system's air-conditioned trains. New England and New Haven (the railroad) are synonymous in vacation travel.

Diversity of Routes

When the motorist contemplates a New England tour he may move clockwise or counter-clockwise. Assuming that you enter New England from New York City, you go either east along the shore of Long Island Sound and the Connecticut eastern shores area, then northeasterly till the soaring tides of Passamaquoddy halt you some 800 miles from Times Square; or you go northward through the Litchfield Hills, the Berkshires, the Green Mountains, then east across New Hampshire to Maine, and southward along the shoreline. New England's width at any point is little more than a half-day's motor trip.

A region of superlative differences, these six small states will reward the visitor with memories of sheer charm and beauty. In the traditionally stern and uncompromising New Englander, the stranger finds, in actuality, a friendly and thoroughly human person. Not effusive but none the less genuine, the New Englander possesses a dry humor, much hard sense, an

appreciation of the dignity of personality, and a determination not to intrude upon others. But types vary even within so small a territory, and the stimulus of varied human contacts can add greatly to the pleasure of a New England vacation.

If the visitor prefers solitude, New England offers opportunity for a vacation miles away from the nearest human habitation, literally out of touch with civilization.

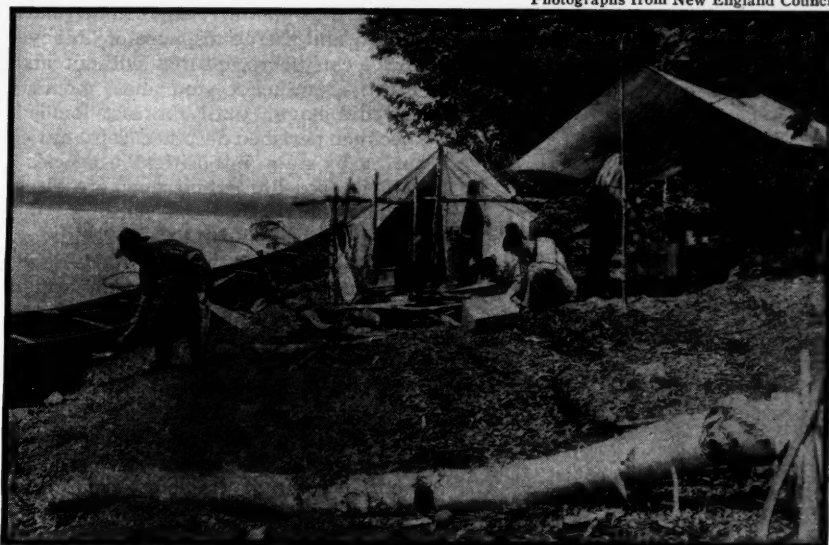
If you elect to move clockwise on your motor journey through New England, you will find in Connecticut, as you push north and eastward from New York, villages with colonial architecture dating from pre-Revolutionary days and graced with a stately charm surprising in such close proximity to the teeming industrial cities which characterize the state and to the rich agriculture of the Connecticut River valley, specializing in tobacco. The Litchfield hills, your immediate recreational objective, offer the appeal of mountains on a smaller scale but no less lovely than the Berkshires, which you will soon reach. To the south are the rocky beauties of such watercourses as the Housatonic and Naugatuck rivers, lovely in spots to look at, and utilitarian to the industries which absorb their power.

This hill country of Connecticut contrasts markedly with what is encountered if you choose to follow the shoreline instead. Pleasant countryside, spotless communities with their historic greens or parks in the center, and gay and varied vacation places characterize the shore. The Connecticut coastline is a constant temptation to those who love the water.

A Care-Free Itinerary

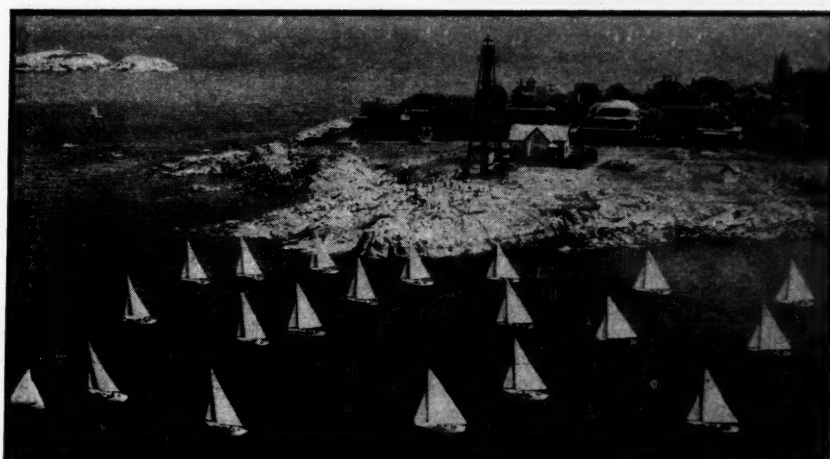
In New England the motorist need not lay out an itinerary and keep to it with conscientious fidelity, come what may. He can ramble along, doing as many miles as he likes, or as few, with assurance that when night approaches he can reach an excellent hotel or other resting place. In the mountains, of course, foresight should be exercised in regard to mileage, gas and oil, and in winter one should appraise the weather before starting on a long trip into the hills.

But the Berkshires, medium-sized brothers of the Litchfield Hills to the south and the Green Mountains to the north, need cause the motorist no fear except that he shall be tempted to stay too long among them. With their fashionable centers, such as Lee and Lenox, these steep and wooded contours hold an ineffable appeal for society and for the traveler alike, and offer the startling and sometimes somber beauties of a terrain left turbulent by the Ice Age.



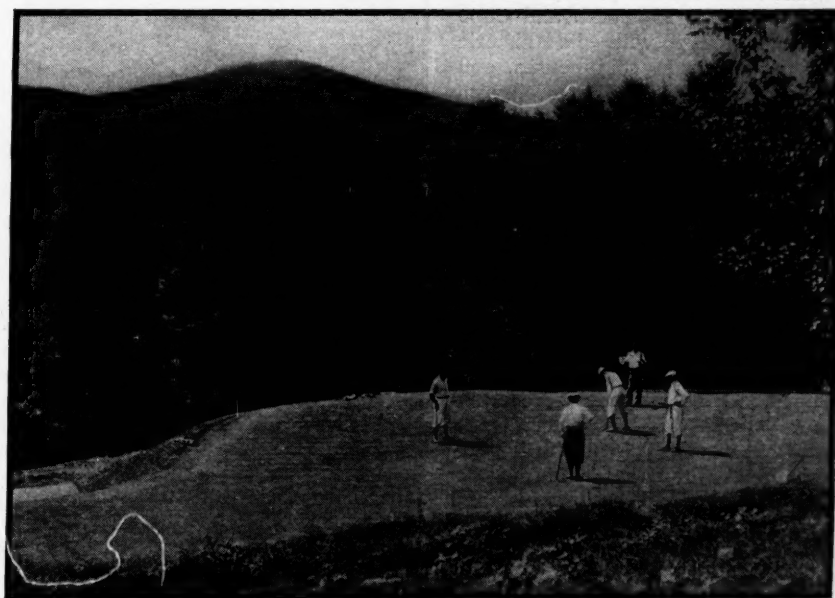
FISHING

His catch in one hand and frying pan in the other, with Milady lighting the fire. A Maine lake scene.



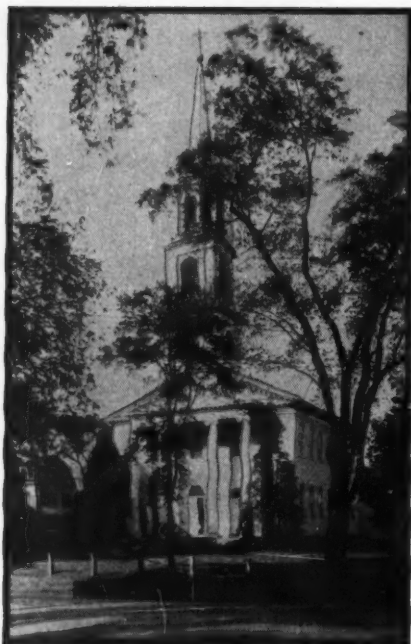
YACHTING

Marblehead, north of Boston, is a yachting center. Another is New London, scene of America's Cup races.



GOLF

A sporty course in New Hampshire's White Mountains. The tourist plays more golf in New England than tennis.



Old Lyme and its historic church contribute to Connecticut's charm.

To the east, rich farming areas and pleasant rolling countryside characterize the state of Massachusetts, with lakes and ponds everywhere, while the coastal area abounds in historical shrines and offers to the visitor the sea in a hundred delightful ways. The North Shore, just above Boston, with such attractive and fashionable places as Swampscott, Manchester-by-the-Sea, Magnolia, Gloucester on the tip of Cape Ann, Ipswich, and historic Newburyport, stretches away to the New Hampshire line. Below Boston, the South Shore includes smart resort and residential communities, such as Hingham, Scituate, Cohasset, and Duxbury. Still farther to the south lie Plymouth and Cape Cod—Plymouth with its historic buildings, charming old houses, and the famous Rock, and Cape Cod with its sand dunes and scrub pine trees so characteristic that they identify it and differentiate it from any other section of the New England coast.

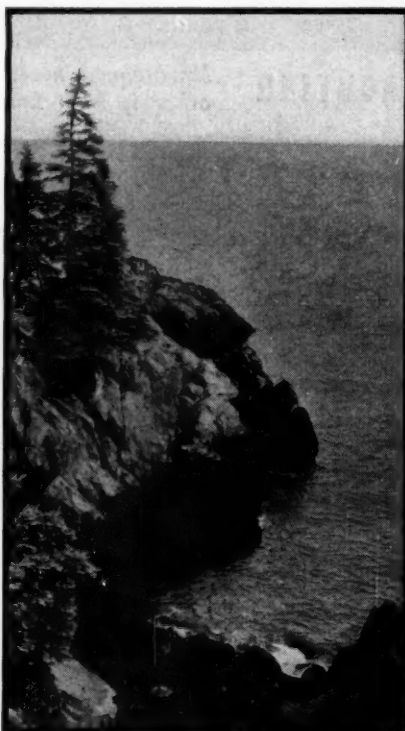
Breeze-swept, washed by the converging Atlantic, Cape Cod, like many another New England vacation spot, offers sleep under blankets at night and often a sweater for warmth during the day even under the brightest sun. The Cape is visited by thousands of persons from all over the country every year. At its tip, colorful and somewhat bizarre Provincetown commemorates the first landing of the Pilgrims on American shores and stages an annual Artists' Ball.

Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, islands far out at sea, have especial elements of appeal to the vacationist who wants quiet and the right to loaf unmolested. In whaling days, Nan-

tucket was a thriving commercial center, and the atmosphere of "Moby Dick" can be recaptured without an effort. Nantucket, too, has moors, and did have (until the last lonely specimen perished despite careful nurturing by state authorities) a species of feathered life extant nowhere else in the country, the heath hen.

But to return to the Berkshires, you will find the best of roads and the most tempting countryside leading you northward out of Massachusetts and into Vermont. Charming with its quiet villages and green valleys, Vermont presents a pastoral quality perhaps not found elsewhere in New England. The sunny warmth of its countryside, the rich dairy herds grazing in the fields, shadowed by the undulating foothills of the Green Mountains which divide the state about equally, running north and south, its remote and rural atmosphere, even within short motor-driving distances of urban areas—all these aspects give to Vermont its own characteristic appeal.

Its roads are unexcelled, its people hospitable, its scenic beauty striking. Vermont has a "coast", too, for those who like water, in its long and lovely Lake Champlain, along the shores of which, as farther south at Bennington, Revolutionary history was made. Manchester-in-the-Mountains, Chester, Stowe and its neighboring Mount Mansfield, Woodstock—the latter communities fast achieving year-around popularity through their growth as skiing centers—are only a



Maine's water attractions include rocky coast, sandy beach, and lake.

suggestion of the many charming places the motorist may visit in the Green Mountain state.

Here, as elsewhere throughout New England, educational institutions and cultural centers offer combined facilities for recreation and study in the summer months. Throughout New England the summer theaters offer new creative talent and new plays, as well as old favorites. Some of these summer theatrical organizations have become so widely known that visitors drive scores of miles to attend a performance, and often stay over night in order not to miss the final curtain, buying their accommodations along with their orchestra seats.

Writers, artists and musicians in large numbers make their summer homes in New England, and increasingly are adopting it as their year-around domiciles.

Still meeting contrast at every turn, and still moving clockwise around your predetermined course, you motor on from Vermont into New Hampshire, the Granite State. New Hampshire's brief Atlantic coast line offers beaches, resorts, good hotels, and rocky shores.

The East's Highest Spot

Inland, the thriving cities, cultivated farming country, neat towns and white-spined villages introduce the visitor to the lake region. North lie the White Mountains, where a National Forest preserves, uncommercialized, striking scenic beauty hardly matched anywhere else in the six states. Broad intervals prevent monotony here, and the famous notches through which highways thread their way among the peaks offer never-ending variety and scenic values enhanced by careful forestry.

Crawford Notch, through which the road from North Conway leads toward Mount Washington, is the gateway to an area in which the finest of hotels offer golf, tennis, riding, and swimming facilities to the most discriminating vacationists. Pinkham Notch, to the east of Mount Washington, gives to the traveler a taste of wildly wooded country, with breath-taking panoramas of the Presidential Range sweeping majestically north. Pinkham Notch, too, lends access to the toll road by which hardy motorists may drive to the top of Mount Washington. Those who wish may ride to the summit of this mile-high peak by cog railway from the Crawford Notch side, while hikers will find routes starting from either side and meeting at the top, where they join the trail which runs the length of the Presidentials.

Dixville Notch, still farther to the north, plunges the visitor into heavily

wooded terrain which offers majestic scenic qualities. Franconia Notch, which you encounter first on motor-ing into New Hampshire from Ver-mont, gives access to still other famous hotels and resorts, and in addition leads the visitor to the Old Man of the Mountain, (the Great Stone Face), to the Flume, a rocky phenomenon of nature. Nearby is Lost River Reservation, where guides offer overalls and rubber boots and escort the visitor along the tortuous course of an underground stream.

Maine, the Pine Tree State, lies to the east. Intent on making the circle of New England, you face the choice of entering Maine well north from Gorham in New Hampshire, or south-erly from Conway to Fryeburg, and thence into the heart of the biggest of the six states. Maine is roughly as large as all the other five states put together. It has beaches, rocky coast, quaint seaside villages and fashion-able resorts, rich farming country in the Aroostook potato region, an agricultural paradox in reputedly stony-soiled New England, and virgin forests where moose, deer, bear and catamounts roam. It has New En-gland's one National Park—Arcadia, at Bar Harbor, and the eye-filling Cadillac Mountain drive, made possi-ble by John D. Rockefeller, Jr. It has lakes and mountains, hunting and fishing, and camps for either adults or for boys and girls. It has Mount Katahdin, now publicly owned, and Moosehead Lake, and the Rangeleys.

You will remember Maine for the warm sun, cool wind, and vitalizing air that will "make a new man of you" if you are a city dweller. You will remember the mellow, softly rolling farming country of southern Maine, and the endless miles of level potato country will be indelibly im-pressed upon you if you get as far north as Aroostook. Your mind's eye will never fail, in after years, to see the bold conifers guarding Maine's coast, and marching among the gran-ite ledges down to the very sea.

A Flavor All Its Own

Turning southward, the visitor finds history confronting him in the his-toric houses of York in Maine and Portsmouth in New Hampshire, as he drives toward Boston. The eighteen-mile New Hampshire seacoast is quickly passed, the great estates of Rye rubbing democratic shoulders with populous Hampton Beach. Then you enter Massachusetts: Newbury-port, Salem, and Marblehead, mecca of racing yachtsmen. If you look sharp as you are passing through Mar-blehead you may see a house one corner of which was cut off up to the second story to make the passage of

Lafayette's carriage possible, accord-ing to local tradition. Here also may be seen, but not photographed under pain of punishment by the local po-lice, the original painting of "The Spirit of 1776."

A hundred spots in Boston, Con-cord, Lexington, and other historic cities and towns in eastern Massachu-setts, threaten indefinite delay to the visitor for whom these living evi-dences of colonial culture and Revolu-tionary strife have attraction. Pursuit of historical appeal leads in-evitably to Rhode Island, following the path of Roger Williams who fled the Massachusetts Bay Colony in the in-terests of independence of thought. Rhode Island is rich in historic lore and historic places. Its roads are of the best, and it has a gigantic suspen-sion bridge, supported by tolls, which will speed you to Newport if you choose to take this route. Rhode Is-land offers seashore in the grand manner. Newport, with its ten-mile-drive amid the marble palaces of an earlier generation, its smart beach clubs, its picturesque coast, its naval establishment, is an objective of out-standing interest for the motorist. Jamestown, reached by ferry, has its Casino to vie with Newport. The shore resorts south to Westerly, itself a charming community, attract sum-mer residents from many states.

And then, turning westward along the Connecticut shore, you may visit, if you choose, busy cities—New Haven, with its "green" and the architectural achievements at Yale; Hartford which is famous, among other things, as the insurance center of the east; Waterbury, where brass manufacture centers; Bridgeport, celebrated for its growth in the metals industries.

The clockwise tour thus leads in-evitably back to New York—but New England is New England right down to the farthest point of the Connecti-cut boundary. Economically, those portions of Connecticut nearest New York are bound to the metropolis; but by tradition and feeling they hold to the New England pattern of feeling and thought.

It is fashionable to say that America has become standardized under the influences of swift com-munication and transportation, mass circulations, comic strips, the radio and motion pictures. Those who travel know this is not true. Super-ficially alike, Americans differ region by region in accordance with a hun-dred factors of past and present.

So it is that the visitor to New England will sense, in the atmosphere of its communities and in its people, subtle qualities, difficult to define, which will add flavor and piquancy to a vacation among the Yankees.

"Why I Switched to Dodge"

by GEORGE DeWITT SHEETS,
Cranford, N. J.



I traded in my small car to get a big Dodge "Beauty Winner." It was one of the best moves I ever made.



Why? Because, in the long run, I figure this big Dodge is actually going to cost me less than the small car I had.



For example, I'm getting 21 miles per gal-lon of gasoline — and I haven't added any oil between changes. And Dodge is so easy to buy! One can get a Dodge for not much more than \$25 per month! It's easy to see why more people buy Dodge cars than any other make, with the exception of the three lowest-priced cars!

DODGE

NEW LOW FIRST COST

NOW \$640 and up,
ONLY List Prices at Factory, Detroit

JUST A FEW DOLLARS MORE THAN THE LOWEST-PRICED CARS

DODGE
Division of Chrysler Corporation

"BARNUM WAS RIGHT"

THE one and only P. T. Barnum is alleged to have said many things that never found their way into our copy-books . . . things to which few of us would wish to subscribe. But he uttered a profound truth when he said: "If you don't advertise your business the sheriff will."

Firms which intend to stay in business, that is, firms which deal directly with the public, must advertise. By the same token, it is a sign that they mean to stay in business when they do advertise. For they are offering, through advertisements, their very best values.

You, the customer, will decide whether or not they **ARE** values. If they are not, it is "just too bad" for the firm that claimed they were. Don't you see, therefore, that no merchant can afford to misrepresent himself or his goods in print? Advertising merely magnifies a misrepresentation—brings the fatal day nearer.

Naturally, then, you can trust the advertisements in this magazine. You can believe that the businesses behind those advertisements want your trade, and are willing to earn it—with honest values and fair treatment. Read the advertisements. Patronize the advertisers. It is to your selfish interest to do so.

THE PULSE OF BUSINESS

We examine the record of three representatives of Big Business, to learn how labor is faring, in the matter of wage reward, in this recovery period. Also, we discuss state taxes in New York.

THAT OUR leading corporations report 42 per cent more income for 1935 than for 1934 is welcome news to most of us. Opposed, on professional grounds, is the radical who sees, hears, and speaks nothing but evil regarding this phase of the capitalistic system.

Also "booing" the good news, while others cheer, is the labor sympathizer who rabble-rouses with his challenge that there have not been suitable gains in employment or payrolls. Take the United States Steel Corporation, says he. Its production in 1935 increased 24 per cent over 1934, but payrolls increased only 19 per cent.

We state the figures first, with a bit of interpretation later:

Otherwise it might be appropriate to suggest that labor fared best of all during depression years. Net income of the Steel Corporation dropped from 198 million in 1929 to minus 71 million in 1932. Tonnage dropped from 15.2 million to 3.9, a loss of 74 per cent. Wages dropped from 420 million to 134, a loss of 68 per cent. Employees dropped from 224,980 to 139,094, a loss of 38 per cent.

Plainly the Steel Corporation had kept more employees on its payrolls, and paid higher wages, than business justified. And we gain the impression that Big Business is not as soulless as the agitator believes.

One instance, however, is not suffi-

cludes many thousands of persons who were employed outside the various automobile branches of General Motors; but the comparison, one year with another, should nevertheless be fairly accurate.

Here we discover that net income increased, in the last year, 76 per cent while payrolls rose only 23 per cent. But that is obviously because profits had fallen off faster than payrolls. As a matter of fact for each \$1,000 of profit in 1929 there was only 68 cents in 1932. In contrast, for each \$1,000 of wages in 1929 there was \$368 in 1932. The wage-earner—he who kept his job!—fared better during the depression than the corporate employer.

Most interesting in the G.M.C. table is the indication that the same number of men were employed, per thousand cars, in 1935 as in 1929, though the wage cost was lowest last year of all the seven years under analysis here. Again we remind the reader that this "wage cost per car" is an exaggerated item. It really is the wage cost for all General Motors products, divided (for purposes of rough comparison) by the number of automobiles sold.

We turn now to a third representative of big business, Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company. (Table at top of next page.)

Sales billed are here the best measure of business done, though there is more of a lag in completing and billing for electrical equipment than

UNITED STATES STEEL CORPORATION

	Net Income (Millions)	Payrolls (Millions)	Tonnage (Millions)	Number of Employees	Labor Cost per ton
1929	\$198	\$420	15.2	224,980	\$27.63
1930	104	391	11.6	211,055	33.71
1931	13	267	7.6	145,733	35.13
1932	0	134	3.9	139,094	34.36
1933	0	163	5.8	172,577	28.10
1934	0	211	5.9	189,881	35.76
1935	1	252	7.3	194,820	34.52

Going back three years, to depression's bottom, we find that the Steel Corporation's increase in output is 87 per cent while the workmen's gain is 88 per cent. Is the steel worker losing ground, in wage rates, in this recovery period? Apparently not. Is modern steel-mill equipment reducing labor cost? Apparently not.

A really startling situation is found when we go farther back, to 1929. Then the labor cost per ton of finished steel or steel products (payrolls, divided by output) was \$27.63. In 1932 the labor cost was \$34.36 per ton of output. In 1935 it was \$34.52.

Allowance should be made for the fact that steel output has changed in character, with less emphasis now on steel beams, rails, and plates, where labor cost is relatively low.

Such figures speak for themselves.

cient. So we explore into the record of another giant corporation, General Motors. It is desirable here to assume, for purpose of analysis, that General Motors makes nothing but automobiles. We ignore such sidelines as Frigidaire. The figures are found at the bottom of this page.

Remember, this payroll item in-

GENERAL MOTORS CORPORATION

	Net Income (Millions)	Payrolls (Millions)	Cars sold to Dealers	Number of Employees	Employees per 1,000 Cars	Wage Cost (all products) per car
1929	\$248	\$389	1,899,267	233,286	123	\$205
1930	151	279	1,174,115	172,938	147	238
1931	97	236	1,074,709	157,586	147	220
1932	0.16	143	562,970	116,152	206	254
1933	83	171	869,035	137,764	158	197
1934	95	263	1,240,447	191,157	154	212
1935	167	323	1,715,688	211,712	123	188

WESTINGHOUSE ELECTRIC AND MANUFACTURING COMPANY

	Net Income (Millions)	Payrolls (Millions)	Sales (Millions)	Number of Employees	Wage Cost per \$1,000 Sales
1929	\$27	\$88	\$216	49,985	.41
1930	12	82	180	43,827	.45
1931	0	56	115	31,276	.49
1932	0	37	77	23,756	.47
1933	0	36	66	29,980	.54
1934	0.19	47	92	35,281	.51
1935	12	52	123	34,581	.42

in completing a car or a steel beam. Comparisons, one year with another, should be fairly accurate nevertheless.

We find the same pattern in the Westinghouse picture: The wage cost of goods produced was highest in its worst year, and is back now at approximately the 1929 level. Payrolls in 1935 had increased by 72 per cent over the 1933 low point, while sales had increased by 86 per cent.

On the basis of the record, therefore, the conclusion is justified that as yet labor has no reason to be unduly jealous of returning profits to industry, or to feel that more business is being done with fewer men.

● ● APRIL 15 WAS income-tax day in New York and several other states, and the average citizen had reason

to know of the mounting cost of state government. New York has had three distinguished Democratic Governors—Alfred E. Smith, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Herbert H. Lehman—whose combined terms have spread over thirteen years. Not one of them could be accused of deliberate waste.

Yet the cost of running New York State's government has grown from 149 million dollars in 1922, the last year of Al Smith's predecessor, to 360 million dollars in 1935. The increase alone is about equal to the entire cost of running the state for three years as recently as 1916-1918.

New York has five main sources of income: its corporation tax, which dropped from 63 millions in 1929 to 39 millions in 1935; its inheritance taxes, dropped from 47 millions to 30; its

stock-transfer tax, dropped from 34 millions to 16; its motor-vehicle taxes, which rose slightly from 29 millions to 32; and its tax on personal income, which increased from 42 million in prosperous 1929 to 48 millions in 1935, though probably a million persons were still out of work.

For the salaried man in New York this state income tax is a serious matter. The rates are continually rising—1 per cent in 1931, 2 per cent in 1932, 3 per cent in 1933 (including a new emergency tax), and now this year there is an increase that affects all taxable income above \$1000. Instead of a flat 2 per cent, there is a graduated scale running up to 7 per cent on all taxable income over \$9000, plus 1 per cent emergency tax.

Ask the man in the street what the state does for him, in exchange for these taxes, and he will be stumped for an answer. He hears much about high federal taxes, but at least he knows that Uncle Sam provides for him an army and a navy, with a Congressman and two Senators thrown in, and pays for planting trees in the great American desert and harnessing Passamaquoddy tides, to say nothing of millions handed to sugar companies for not growing sugar cane and to farmers for not raising crops and pigs.

Local taxation in New York keeps pace also. We have before us tax bills for two pieces of property, each assessed at approximately the same amount. One is for a summer "camp" in the mountains, the other for a dwelling in the metropolis. The city home gets police, fire, and health protection, refuse removal, water, schools. The country house gets none of these (for school taxes are additional). This year's tax bill for the city property, assessed at \$14,000, is \$390.60; that for the country piece, assessed at \$13,200, is \$354.82. The only evidence of government around the remote mountain camp is the highway, and that is maintained by a high gasoline tax.

● ● Our index of general business rises to 79.7 per cent of normal for the week ended April 11. This represents a steady rise from the year's low point of 75.1 in February.

Steel production recovers from recession brought about by the floods, and it is necessary to thumb the records back to 1930 to find steel output at a higher percentage of capacity. Automobile production climbs.

Noteworthy also is the rise in the index of new financing, brought about by an epidemic of bond issues whose real purpose is to retire other bonds bearing a higher rate of interest.

Electric power production continues to be the most consistent performer at higher-than-normal levels.

GENERAL BUSINESS INDICES

	Weight Factor	Mar. 21	Mar. 28	Apr. 4	Apr. 11	Apr. 13 1935
FINANCIAL ACTIVITY						
Stock Sales, N. Y. Stock Exchange.....	2	59	56	49	42	17
Bond Sales, N. Y. Stock Exchange.....	1	105	96	84	74	80
Money Rates.....	4	15	15	15	15	20
New Financing.....	2	80	103	91	156	98
Bank Debts, N. Y. City.....	4	56	54	57	55	45
Deposit Circulation, N. Y. City.....	4	50	49	52	51	40
Index of Financial Activity.....	17	51	52	51	56	43
DISTRIBUTION						
Bank Debts, outside N. Y. City.....	10	81	82	84	86	75
Deposit Circulation, outside N. Y. City..	10	90	90	97	100	89
Merchandise Carloadings.....	11	70	71	72	74	71
Index of DISTRIBUTION.....	31	80	81	84	86	72
PRODUCTION						
Bituminous Coal.....	3	95	86	78	74	83
Crude Oil.....	3	113	110	113	94	104
Commodity Carloadings.....	8	75	69	63	60	62
Electric Power.....	7	114	116	120	120	74
Steel Production.....	9	64	66	70	74	55
Automobile Production.....	6	118	126	130	132	129
Construction Contracts.....	11	48	51	46	53	39
Cotton Consumption.....	5	89	90	90	95	84
Index of PRODUCTION.....	52	82	83	82	83	72
INDEX OF GENERAL BUSINESS						
	100	76.3	77.0	77.5	79.7	66.8

A COMPARATIVE record, for weeks ending with Saturday. The figures represent percentage of normal. The "distribution" items are all based upon an average for the years 1926-31; new financing, automobile production, and cotton consumption, upon 1927-31; and construction contracts upon 1928-32. All others use 1919-1931 as normal or 100.

Carloadings and coal data are always of the previous week. Electric power is adjusted for population growth, construction contracts for changing price level.

DISTILLED FROM THE TRADE

Interesting sidelights on current business, gleaned from leading commercial and professional journals. By DUART MACLEAN

Marriage Market

In an attempt to estimate the potential demand for new home building, the *Dun & Bradstreet Review* calls attention to the large marriage reserve.

"One of the most significant forces affecting the demand for homes is the net increase in the number of families from year to year. This growth depends on an excess of new marriages over marriages broken up . . . experience proves that the marriage rate is acutely sensitive to the ups and downs of general business activity. Beginning in 1929 the drop was extremely rapid, marriages falling on the average of about 83,600 each year from 1929 to 1932."

However, to those interested in the market for home building, as well as those of a romantic inclination, the *Review* offers a gleam of hope.

"But the depression only postpones marriages; it does not permanently eliminate them. For the most part, the couples who were forced to forego marriage in bad years will get married in the succeeding good years."

And the Architect

Also interested in the small home market is the magazine *Architecture*, which, in the current issue, has again raised the much mooted question of the architect's place in the designing of small homes. Briefly, the problem is to make the services of an architect available to the small home builder, at a price within his budget.

Concerning stock plans, the author has this to say:

"The profession knows, even if the public does not, that selling a plan is just about as effective as selling a sick man a bulk order on the drug store, and telling him to go fill it and get well."

New Tax Bills

The current *Tax Magazine* lists more than four hundred bills, at present before the legislatures of various states, pertaining to taxation. Most of these bills would impose new taxes. Particularly was this department's curiosity aroused concerning H.B. No. 358 in Mississippi, which "amends the law imposing a privilege tax on persons engaged in the business of trading in horses and mules". We would appreciate the favor, if some resident of that state would let us know how the law was amended.

Lawyers' Saint

A recent issue of the *New York Law Journal* offers the following item:

"The American Bar Association has announced that the memorial window in commemoration of St. Ives, the patron saint of lawyers, is now being installed in the cathedral at Treguier, in Brittany, France, as the gift of the American Bar."

Zephyrs Make Good

On the basis of nearly a million miles of light-weight, Diesel-engined railway travel, *Civil Engineering* offers in its current issue a survey of the possibilities of this form of railroad equipment. The "Zephyr" trains have compared favorably in every way with heavier trains, and the article suggests that in time some of the same principles may be applied to freight handling as well as passenger service.

Japanese Rubber Products

The *Wall Street Journal* recently published a statement by Dr. G. M. Kraay prophesying a quick rise of the Japanese rubber industry.

"All over the country experiments in regard to rubber manufacturing and the application of rubber are being made. Very shortly, Dr. Kraay stressed, Japan will be able to manufacture rubber articles at low prices and in qualities not in the least inferior to the products of other rubber manufacturing countries."

Marine Insurance Note

Export Trade and Shipper offers in the current issue an interesting brief from Lloyd's.

"The old *Lutine* bell which hangs in the center of Lloyd's underwriting room has been tolled too often of late for the peace of mind of the subscribers. It was the ship's bell of the frigate *Lutine* which was lost near the mouth of Zuyder Zee in 1799 with a cargo of some £100,000 in gold. The precious metal was covered by Lloyd's underwriters and the salvage proceeded spasmodically for over a hundred years. The clanging of the relic now means that some serious and special announcement is to be made such as total losses of vessels or reports concerning overdue ships. The winter perils have marked the loss records gravely."

Planning in Poland

In an article discussing the Polish Oil situation, *World Petroleum* offers some interesting sidelights on Polish "planned economy".

"As in most cases where the industry finds itself in serious straits the problem is not merely a commercial one, but partly political arising from the country's need of foreign exchange which petroleum exports are expected to supply."

"Under the terms of the Polish Eksport Naftowy (Polish Petroleum Export) law enacted in March 1933 every oil company is compelled to export a certain proportion of its refined products."

"Actually exporters are able to realize only 25 to 35 percent of their costs on motor fuel and lubricants, and the heavy proportion of exports causes these losses to exceed any profits that can possibly be earned from domestic sales."

We'd like you
to know more
about us



WE'D like you to know more about us, and we believe that you'd be interested.

We kept that in mind while making up our General Foods Annual Report for 1935. We tried to keep it clear, compact, and interesting, remembering that its purpose was to take the general public behind the scenes, as well as to keep our employees and our 63,000 stockholders informed.

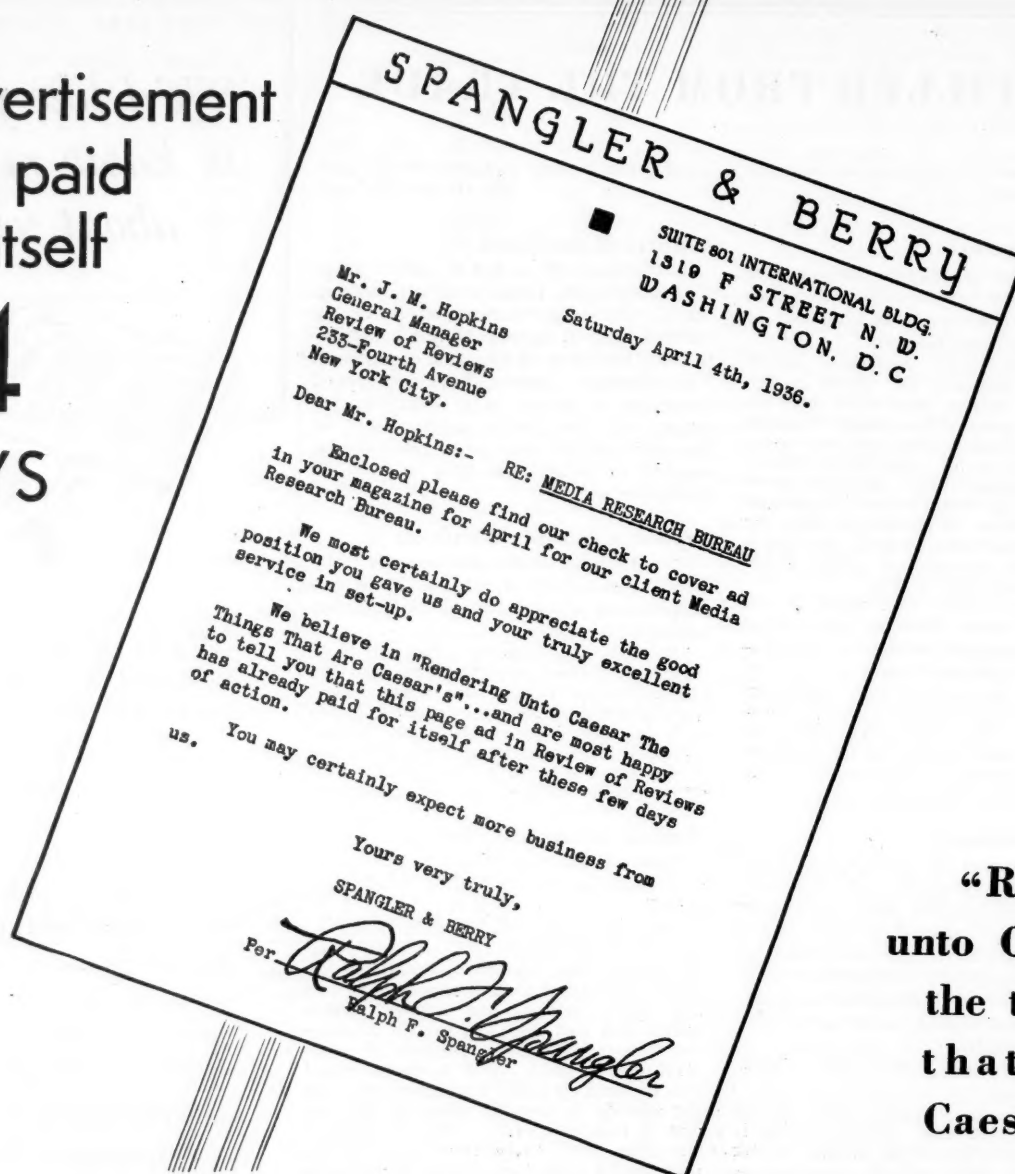
In this report is included a special message to the public, telling them how several food companies by banding together have been able to render better service.

Our report is now ready for distribution, and we will gladly mail you a copy upon request. Write Dept. 20

GENERAL
FOODS

250 Park Avenue
New York City

An
Advertisement
that paid
for itself
in **4**
DAYS



**"Render
unto Caesar
the things
that are
Caesar's"**

Is your name here? . . .

BELOW is a list of surnames of some of the most distinguished American families. Our research staff has completed preparation of manuscripts dealing with the history of each of these families. If your name is listed, *you should* a copy of your manuscript. You will find it not only of keen interest, but a and satisfaction to yourself and your kin.

FAMILY HISTORY \$2.00

**REVIEW OF
REVIEWS**

**Its Readers
are Leaders**

among your family records or other important documents. It will serve as background material for your immediate family history and will be valuable as a basis for the genealogy of future generations.

The coupon below, with \$2.00 (no other charge), will bring you your manuscript by return mail. Satisfaction is assured by our unconditional money-back guarantee. Any two manuscripts may be had for \$3.50; any three for \$4.50. *Send for yours today.* Media Research Bureau, Washington, D. C.

Pillsbury	Ruggles	Stafford	Todd	Wellman
Standish	Rush	Standish	Tolman	Wells
Stanley	Stanley	Stanley	Tomlinson	Wendel(l)
			Tompkins	Wentworth
				Wesley

(Continued from page 9)

are connected in some capacity with the Panama Canal organization. These cruisers can be rented by the day or week, the average daily rental being \$35, which includes captain, tackle, food and beverages. The usual Grace Line itinerary always makes allowance for a trip to Pearl Islands, with a call at Trapiche Island clubhouse.

And about sailfish in the Gulf of Panama. . . In 1932 when the Panama Sailfish Club was organized only a few sailfish were caught, and the prizes were awarded as follows: first, 118 pounds; second, 110 pounds, and third, 100 pounds.

Members (29 active) went into huzzahs in 1933 when they caught 76 "sails", the largest weighing 149 pounds. Next year more than 100 were landed; and during the past four years several black marlin have been caught. All struck at sailfish bait. Two of the marlin weighed more than 250 pounds, and one more than 350.

Which answers any questions you might like to ask about fishing in Panama.

Of course, if you have to work up a case about going there you can tell the little woman (truthfully, too) that she can do some nice bargaining for pongees, perfumes, Chinese and Japanese kimonos, all of which make excellent Christmas presents.

* * *

Bounding Main

SINCE WE'RE bounding all over the Bounding Main, let's bound back again to remind you that Bermuda, although really sub-tropical, is the gateway to the Caribbean. And if you follow the rough "S" itineraries of the scheduled cruises the route is somewhat like this:

	Nassau	Bermuda	
Cuba			
Jamaica	Haiti	Porto Rico	
		Virgin Islands	
		Martinique	
		Barbados	
Colombia	Curacao	Trinidad	
Colon (Panama)	LaGuayra (Venezuela)		

In doing this you will circumnavigate the Caribbean to all intents and purposes. Veteran travelers, of course, need no reminders about touring the tropics. There's something about them that "gets you". For the tyro who expects so much—the first time you'll probably be a little disappointed in it all . . . until you get back home.

Then you'll begin to reminisce about purple skies and brilliant stars at night . . . daylight, then sudden



Even Finer
... than its setting

Beautiful as is its setting . . . the SHERRY-NETHERLAND is even more favorably known for its comfort, convenience and the excellence of its service.

Suites of 1 to 5 rooms, each with large serving pantry, by the day, week, month or longer.

The
SHERRY-NETHERLAND

Facing the Park

Fifth Avenue at 59th • New York

ONLY 98c WOODROW WILSON'S Messages and State Papers, complete in two volumes. Over 175 messages, addresses and other state papers embracing altogether, practically every public subject that can interest an American.
GET YOUR COPY NOW—LIMITED QUANTITY
Review of Reviews Corp., 233 Fourth Ave., New York

INVESTORS!

Do you know the preferred and common stocks of middle western companies now paying 8%—7%—6%? Do you want to know the stocks selling for less than \$30, paying 8%—less than \$20, paying 6%? If so—it will pay you to read the up-to-the-minute reviews of progressive, dividend paying companies every month in **COMMERCE Magazine, the only business executives' magazine** that lists and reviews companies listed on the Chicago Stock Exchange.

COMMERCE Magazine reviews are different, they cover products, personnel, markets, promotion, management and finances. Here are companies reviewed during the first quarter of 1936.

The Walgreen Co.; Chain Belt Corp.; Swift & Co.; Borg Warner Corp.; McGraw Electric Co.; Horder's Inc.

To the analytical investor any one of these reviews is worth \$3.00, the price of one year's subscription.

SPECIAL OFFER To investors not familiar with **COMMERCE Magazine** we are making a half price get acquainted offer of the next eight months for only \$1.00. Just send your name and address and attach a dollar bill—or better still—send \$3.00 for three full years and we will include (as long as they last) all 1936 issues.

COMMERCE MAGAZINE

Published in Chicago Since 1904

One LaSalle St., Rm. 2305, Chicago, Ill.

CRAWFORD NOTCH

within the shadow of

MT. WASHINGTON

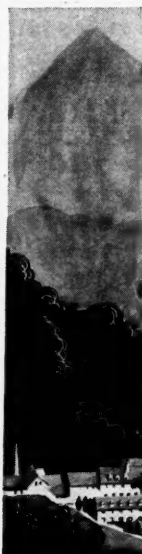
WHITE MOUNTAINS

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Where

Discriminating people return each summer to the Crawford House at Crawford Notch, famous for its location, its clientele, its atmosphere and its service. Rates include room and meals, as low as \$5.00 a day; with bath one person as low as \$7, two persons as low as \$12. Season, July, Aug., Sept. Booklet and diagnosis of weekly and seasonal rates on request.

Barron Hotel Co.



CRAWFORD HOUSE
CRAWFORD NOTCH - NEW HAMPSHIRE

See the Sun that SHINES ALL NIGHT



Luxury Cruise

to

NORTH CAPE & RUSSIA

45 DAYS + sails JUNE 29

S.S. Rotterdam

A voyage of thrilling exploration among the wonders of the Far North. Sail under the Midnight Sun. See the bubbling hot springs of Iceland. Creeping glaciers of Norway. Fjords that cut through mile-high mountains. Extra features—visits to Scotland and Holland.

A Holland-America Line Cruise is always its own assurance of congenial fellow travelers—excellent cuisine and well-planned entertainment. Rates \$495 and up. For details see your local travel agent or

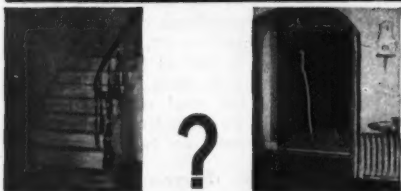
HOLLAND-AMERICA LINE

29 Broadway New York City

SACRIFICING

Collection of the World's Best Short Stories. An inexhaustible source of information and entertainment—GOLDEN BOOK BOUND VOLUMES. Send for information. Marvelous Opportunity! Review of Reviews, 233 Fourth Ave., New York

★ FOR THOSE WHO CANNOT
OR SHOULD NOT CLIMB STAIRS



STAIRS OR ELEVATOR

Choose the Path to a Longer Life

Stair strain IS heart strain. Ride your way to a longer life. For 40 years doctors have recommended Sedgwick Elevators where over-exertion must be avoided. Easily installed. All types and sizes. Electric or hand power. Deferred payments. SEDGWICK MACHINE WORKS, 144 West 15th St., New York.

Write for illustrated booklet

**SEDGWICK LOW COST
RESIDENCE ELEVATORS**

darkness—no twilight . . . sunsets, which if put on canvas you would decry as an artist's crazy dream; lurid reds, and blacks, blues and yellows . . . waters equally fantastic in color; Paradise Beach, Nassau, for instance, where in a two-hundred-yard swim from shore you can pass through opaque, yellow, blue, gray; Montego Bay, where the sand is so white you might be walking on granulated sugar; the various "smells" of the different ports, "smells" by which, after a time, you can name the ports.

But then, when you have reached this stage you'll do what everyone is doing these days, and that is to book far in advance for your second and subsequent cruises to the same spots.

Perhaps a thumb-nail sketch or two might help. So:

BERMUDA—England abroad . . . English even to playing cricket . . . beautiful climate . . . no automobiles . . . flowers and fishes . . . snow-white beaches—and lots of fun.

NASSAU (Bahamas)—A fantasy of flowers and sunsets . . . flying fish and sports . . . England again, but more tropical.

HAVANA (Cuba)—A Paris in a Spanish setting . . . broad avenues and gay boulevards . . . colorful houses, gay cabarets and restaurants . . . the Prado, Playa Mariano, races, jai-alai and al fresco gambling at the Casino.

HAITI—The Black Republic . . . towering mountains . . . mystery . . . Christophe's citadel . . . cockfights and native dances . . . but no weird voodoo rites, in spite of what you hear.

PORTO RICO—San Juan . . . Spanish history and contrasts . . . cathedrals and modern projects . . . scenery . . . sugar cane, tobacco, bananas and coffee.

ST. THOMAS (Virgin Islands)—Black-beard's (the bloody buccaneer) 17th century castle . . . palm trees, America in tropica . . . unspoiled.

MARTINIQUE—Fort de France . . . bloody history . . . turquoise waters . . . birthplace of Napoleon's Josephine . . . a Gothic cathedral . . . tropical parks, flaming flowers.

St. Pierre—Wild tropical flora . . . exotic and natural splendor . . . rocky crags . . . vivid blue skies.

BARBADOS—Another England . . . Trafalgar Square . . . Nelson's statue . . . Healthy climate and cool breezes . . . coral roads . . . plantations.

TRINIDAD—Port of Spain—Where East meets West and North and South too . . . Renowned as the cross-roads of the Caribbean . . . Near enough Venezuela to distinguish breaks in the coastline . . . Near the Equator, where a man can raise a thirst . . . Maracas Falls in the jungle . . . Pitch Lake and bitters.

LAGUAYRA (Venezuela)—Majestic Andes . . . Caracas, the capital, forty miles over mountains that awe you . . . Simon Bolivar, the Liberator . . . Independence exuded everywhere . . . Statue of George Washington—and one to reckless drivers, a wrecked car on a pedestal overlooking a chasm 3,000 feet deep . . . the famous "God Damn" church (the Spanish translation escapes me), built from fines imposed for swearing! . . . Ultra clubs.

CURACAO—Milady's paradise if she seeks expensive perfumes sans duty . . . As Holland as the Zuyder Zee . . . Spic and span houses and colorful.

PANAMA (Colon)—Dock at Cristobal, U. S. territory, walk across the railroad tracks into Colon . . . East Indian shawls and silks . . . but bargain for 'em . . . the Canal, over which you can fly, and love it, drive and love it and thrill because American enterprise put it there.

* * *

Through the Ditch

TALKING ABOUT the Canal reminds us that if you pass through it, why California is just round the corner, so to speak.

Of course, if you haven't thought of Panama Pacific's cruises via the Canal you can go overland by plane, train, or car; or you can arrange for a special water-rail tour, the newest mode in travel.

There's Hollywood, naturally. But if you mention Los Angeles' Hollywood you must mention San Francisco's Golden Gate.

For me?—The giant Redwoods that fringe the Oregon border, California's parks and mountain peaks, and beaches . . . La Jolla's rugged coastline; Santa Barbara's Prado; Spanish missions; Catalina's fishing; the Sierras and Lake Tahoe . . . And Southern Pacific R. R. proudly points to its air-conditioned trains, which eliminate the former bane of summer transcontinental travel—heat and dust. Put California on your list.

* * *

Africa Speaks

WHY AFRICA should pop into mind at the moment I don't quite know, except that the extraordinary growth of tourist trade to that vast continent in the past three years seems to warrant much more than passing interest.

Furthermore, South Africa is now setting the stage for an event that ranks only with the importance of the motif—the first Empire Exhibition ever to be held outside Great Britain. The exposition will be opened in Johannesburg next September 15 and close in January, 1937, and will serve to celebrate Johannesburg's Fifty Years of Progress.

That's the bald statement of the fact, but with the whole Union of South Africa coöperating in the undertaking it is not difficult to imagine the amazing spectacle it will be.

More than 3,000 miles of new railways are being constructed to link every scenic part of the Union, with special rates and excursions. The Port of London will erect a replica of its London (England) headquarters in an exhibit 60 feet high in a garden of 4,000 square feet. A stadium to seat 20,000 is being erected for "Pagants of Progress", "Living Chess



Fifty Years ago—Fifth Avenue Buses in New York City

TRAVEL

on a Fifth Avenue bus when you are in New York. Hundreds of thousands of people from all over the country do so.

The Fifth Avenue buses are the only public vehicles that travel on Fifth Avenue and Riverside Drive. Practically all the places of interest in the City can be reached by the Fifth Avenue buses.

Fifth Avenue bus passengers constitute one of the finest groups of buyers brought together by any one advertising medium. The average purchasing power of Fifth Avenue bus passengers should be considered double the average purchasing power of the passengers on five-cent-fare transportation lines. Fifth Avenue bus passengers are not allowed to stand. They pay a ten cent fare for a clean, comfortable, seated ride. Their patronage is very desirable. Let us show you how to secure it for your railroad, steamship line, air line, hotel, whiskey, wines, etc.

We have recognized advertising agencies for over eighteen years and paid the usual advertising agency commission and cash discount.

If you want rate cards and our circular, a postal card request will bring them.

JOHN H. LIVINGSTON, Jr.

Advertising Space in the Fifth Avenue Buses

425 Fifth Avenue, New York

CAledonia 5-2151



(Times World Wide Photo)

This is the first of a fleet of new streamline buses, which will shortly be put into service on routes of the Fifth Avenue Coach Company, as it appeared near City Hall recently. Here it was inspected by city officials and a vast throng, anxious to see this latest, most modern vehicle which will gradually replace the familiar old buses.

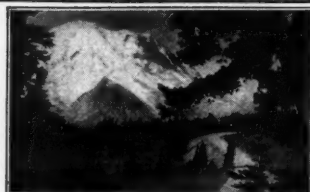
WHERE-TO-GO

HOTEL-RESORT AND TRAVEL DEPARTMENT

Established 1906
 FEATURED EVERY MONTH IN EIGHT PUBLICATIONS
 OUR GROUP OF QUALITY MAGAZINES
Atlantic Monthly, Current History, The Forum, Harpers Magazine, Mid-Week Pictorial (2 issues), Nature Magazine, Review of Reviews and Scribner's Magazine
 For space and rates in our departments write to
 THE WHERE-TO-GO BUREAU, Inc., 8 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass., U. S. A.



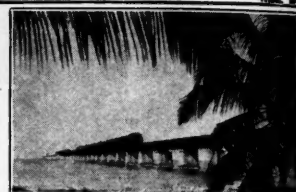
TRAVEL



TRAVEL



TRAVEL



VERMONT

THIS SUMMER, DISCOVER THE CHARMS OF

NEWFOUNDLAND

QUAINT fishing villages clinging to grey cliffs; streams and lakes abounding with gamey fish; wild, untamed forests—that's Newfoundland... cool and bracing in summer. And that's why you'll enjoy fishing, sailing, golfing, canoeing and sightseeing in this magic vacationland. Modern camps and hotels at attractive low rates.

Write for free booklet, "Come to Newfoundland," to Newfoundland Information Bureau, 620 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y., or Newfoundland Tourist Development Board, St. Johns, Newfoundland, or any travel agency.

THIS YEAR... SEE

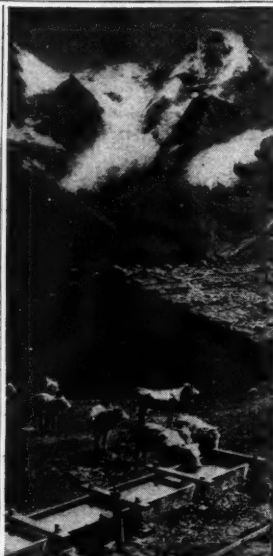
TEXAS

AND THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATIONS

25 MILLION DOLLAR EXPOSITION DALLAS — Opens June 6

The Southwest's first World's Fair. A genuine, old-time, Western Frontier Centennial at Fort Worth. More than 125 celebrations throughout the state. See Houston, Galveston, San Antonio, the Rio Grande Valley of Texas, colorful West Texas, and East Texas, home of world's greatest oil fields. Write for interesting literature and calendar of events.

TEXAS CENTENNIAL, State Headquarters, 16-C Dallas, Texas.
 Please send illustrated literature on Texas and the Centennial Celebrations to:
 Name _____
 Address _____
 City _____ State _____



Vacation in Switzerland

...land of loveliness, where the glittering Alps cast a magic spell over care-free hours. The "Playground of the World" is within easy distance of all Europe. Railroad fares have been reduced up to 45% throughout the entire year to American visitors staying in Switzerland 6 or more days. Take advantage of them this year and revel in the beauty of Switzerland.

Be sure that your itinerary includes a visit to historic GENEVA seat of the League of Nations... Picturesque old BERNE capital of Switzerland and THUN, portal to the BERNESE OBERLAND... INTERLAKEN and up to the JUNG-FRAUJOCH; then a trip over the LOETSCHBERG route into another world... ZERMATT-GORNERGRAT and the MATTERHORN. On to ZURICH, Switzerland's Metropolis and LUCERNE the beautiful, where William Tell made history—and over the famous St. Gothard route to LUGANO-LOCARNO, basking in perennial sunshine. This suggestion is made for your comfort and enjoyment. Any tourist or steamship agent can book you.

Write for our beautiful Free album of Swiss Scenes.
 Ask for Packet WG-3.

SWITZERLAND

SWISS FEDERAL RAILROADS - 475 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

MAINE

Hotel Hamilton and Cottages
 HELEN W. CAMPBELL, Directing.
 Ocean breezes assure cool days and restful nights. Golf, bathing, boating, fishing, dancing, tennis. Rates are moderate. Service & hospitality unexcelled.
CHEBEAGUE ISLAND, MAINE

Ask Where-to-go Bureau, 8 Beacon Street, Boston, for space & rates in our department

MARYLAND

BALTIMORE'S BEST
 \$2.50 Single \$3.50 Double
The EMERSON HOTEL
 Baltimore
 O. G. Clements, Manager

MASSACHUSETTS

BEACH HOUSE Siasconset, Mass.
 Nantucket Island Golf, Surf Bathing, Tennis, etc. All the benefits of land of an Ocean Voyage.

MICHIGAN

WHERE TO GO IN MICHIGAN
 Tell us what you want to do... we will give you detailed and unbiased information about Michigan... any activity... any resort, hotel or section of the State... together with maps and pictures.

MICHIGAN TOURIST ASSOCIATIONS
 Box S Lansing, Michigan
 State of Michigan co-operating

EUROPE

12th Season economical all-expense tours. Small groups with personal service of experienced leaders. Wide selection itineraries. All-expense independent travel also arranged. Cruise and steamship bookings effected on all lines. Write for Booklet "W."
CARLETON TOURS, 522 5th Ave., N.Y.

When writing to these advertisers will you please mention The Where-to-go Bureau?

ORIENT

TOURS \$5.75 PER DAY
2 MONTHS' TRIP \$322
 Round-the-World Tours \$509-\$645. One-Class "General" ships. Portland to Yokohama \$172, Kobe \$177, Shanghai \$198, Hong Kong \$215, Manila \$215
 See your TICKET AGENT or write Dept. 27
STATES STEAMSHIP LINES, Portland, Oregon

THOSE GORGEOUS GREEN MOUNTAINS

VERMONT

ASK

For new, handsomely-illustrated free booklet, "Unspoiled Vermont." A thrilling preview of your 1936 vacation-tour. Scores of eye-filling scenes such as greet you at every turn of the road in this land of mountains, lakes and valleys, gorgeous greenery and famous hospitality. Varied country fun for all the family—described in this free book. Write **VERMONT PUBLICITY SERVICE, 47 STATE HOUSE, MONTPELIER, VT.**

VERMONT

BASIN HARBOR LODGE On-Lake Champlain
 Christian ownership-management catering to select clientele. Cordial, informal atmosphere. Moderate rates. Hotel and 30 shore cottages. Golf course, tennis, sailing, fishing. Country-life center of social and sport activities. Interesting literature.
 A. P. BEACH, Host, VERGENNES, VERMONT

SHANTY SHANE A Summer Lodge For Families
 Golf, Tennis, Water Sports, Good Cuisine. Booklet. Shanty Shane, Ely, Vermont.

CAMP SKYLAND SOUTH HERO, VT.
 Christian Camp for adults and families \$16-\$20 per week. M. K. Norton, Mgr.

NEW MEXICO

Rancho DE DIAS ALEGRES
 Altitude 7400 feet. 16 miles west of Las Vegas, New Mexico, in the Rocky Mountains. The Ranch Of Happy Days is a modern Ranch combining Home Comforts with Ranch Activities. Ride Mountain Trails thru Virgin Forest for health and pleasure. Glorious days and COOL SUMMER NIGHTS. Booklet and Rates on request.
FRANK J. TEAGUE, LAS VEGAS, N. M.

TRAVEL

EUROPE 27-69 Days \$355 UP
 Request Book W. May to September Tourist VARSITY TOURS, 521 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK 006 So. Hill St., Los Angeles — 125 W. Monroe St., Chicago

"LISTED if TESTED"

For 20 years WHERE-TO-GO departments now featured in 8 magazines have been especially noteworthy. 92.2 per cent of our space has been taken by old friends over a 5-year period.

TRAVEL ACCESSORIES

Enjoy your trip Mothersills
 Makes "Deck Activities" Enjoyable And Tea a Welcome Event

WHERE-TO-GO

HOTEL-RESORT & TRAVEL DEPARTMENT

CANADA



IN HISTORICAL QUÉBEC

ADVENTURE CALLS IN THE SPRING

Slip away for a holiday in quaint Old-World Québec. You have a tryst to keep with the drifted pink and white of apple blossom and the fresh green of small leafed trees. Now is the time to browse leisurely through the countryside, uncrowded and undisturbed. The Norman farms and Manors are lovely in the soft Québec sunshine. The wayside inns are comfortable and the rates reasonable. The cuisine Canadienne unsurpassed. >>>

Your Local Information Bureau can supply you with free maps and illustrated booklets, or write direct to: **QUÉBEC PROVINCIAL TOURIST BUREAU**

Québec - Prov. Québec - Canada 3-387

TRAVEL



All Expense Tours

CANADIAN ROCKIES

with **126 miles** **BANFF** **LAKE LOUISE** **EMERALD LAKE** **motoring**

BE mile-high in this magic playground of snowy peaks, jade-green lakes, lacy waterfalls. Stay at Banff Springs Hotel, Chateau Lake Louise, Emerald Lake Chalet. Golf, Swim in warm sulphur or fresh water pools. Ride with cowboy guides. Dine, dance, meet charming people.

4 COLORFUL DAYS
2 days each—Banff, Lake Louise. \$55
Visit to Emerald Lake, Side Trips.
All-Expense

6 WONDERFUL DAYS
2 days each—Banff, Lake Louise, 1 day optional Banff or Lake Louise. 1 day Emerald Lake. . . \$70

Tours start Banff, June 18; or Field, June 20 (until Sept. 15). Include motoring, hotel room-meals, transfers. Add rail fare.

Low Round Trip Rail Fares
See travel agent or any office of **CANADIAN PACIFIC**

TRAVEL

This Summer more than ever **SWEDEN!**
LAND OF SUNLIT NIGHTS

American women are awake to the many advantages of a summer in Sweden for themselves and their children.

More vacationed there last summer than ever before.

The long days of health-giving sunlight—the added time outdoors—the purity of the food—the scenic beauties—historic riches and, above all, the unfailing, kindly and honest Swedish hospitality that greets them everywhere—these are the important reasons why American women are selecting Sweden for their summer holidays.

P.S. By the way, shopping in Sweden is a delight—exquisite bargains in art handicraft.

Ask your travel agent or us for our new "Lands of Sunlit Nights" with complete travel detail of delightful journeys in all the Scandinavian countries—a treasure house of vacation guidance.

SWEDISH TRAVEL INFORMATION BUREAU
630 FIFTH AVENUE Dept. U NEW YORK

ORIENT TOUR—First Class, Escorted, Small Party (12), from Vancouver July 11, 8850 up. 17th Year. **MEARS TOURS**, 3308 Berteau Avenue, Chicago.

LABRADOR CRUISES
Thrill to the silent grandeur of the North—new—different—never-to-be-forgotten cruises of 10½ to 13½ days aboard the palatial Clarke ships from Montreal & Quebec. Ask your travel agent or **CLARKE STEAMSHIP COMPANY, LTD.** Dept. 37-B Dominion Square Bldg., Montreal

Where-To-Go advertising covers best prospects **POCONO MTNS., PA.**

TRAVEL

the American way to Europe

COMBINES PLEASURE WITH ECONOMY!

Excellent liners . . . fares to suit every purse . . . more than one sailing every week. A voyage you'll enjoy to its fullest . . . combining delightful days at sea with happy economy. That's what travelers who Sail American are offered on these splendid American ships!

EVERY WEDNESDAY AT NOON TO IRELAND, ENGLAND, FRANCE AND GERMANY

Modern comfort and luxury on the finest ships flying the Stars and Stripes—*Washington* and *Manhattan*—for as little as \$172 Cabin Class. \$181 with private shower.

More informal, yet wonderfully comfortable travel on *Pres. Harding* and *Pres. Roosevelt* for only \$129 Cabin Class. \$144 with shower.

WEEKLY DIRECT TO LONDON . . . FORTNIGHTLY TO COBH AND LIVERPOOL

Lazy, leisurely crossings on "American One Class" liners, where whole ship is yours—for only \$100. Round trip \$185.

Your travel agent will give you further information about any of these American services to Europe—free. Consult him, or

UNITED STATES LINES

No. 1 B'way; 601 Fifth Ave., N.Y.
Other offices in all principal cities

Where-To-Go for June closes Apr. 29

TRAVEL

EUROPE - 100 WAYS!
From New York - Boston - Montreal - Quebec
20 Days to Ten Weeks - 6 Routes

TEMPLE TOURS, 248-A Washington St., Boston

TRAVEL IN SOVIET RUSSIA

The Open Road takes you behind the scenes. The great river—standing connections with Intourist and other Soviet institutions—Independent representation in Moscow.

THE OPEN ROAD
8 WEST 40th STREET
DEPT. SR NEW YORK

BUCK HILL FALLS, PA.

Only 3 hours from N.Y. & Phila. to The Inn. 300 fireproof rooms. Golf, tennis, riding, concerts, swimming, movies, dancing, etc. Cool, dry air. Alt. 1400 ft. References exchanged. Write Box 690, Buck Hill Falls, Pa.

Games" and other spectacles. The exposition will cover more than 100 acres, with pavilions and exhibits covering 20 miles—with a passenger-carrying miniature railway to take the burden off Shank's Pony!

Participation of other provinces will take the form of garden "courts"—Cape and Western Court, Durban Court, North Elizabeth Court, and so on.

Opposite a conventionalized version of the Zimbabwe will be Rhodesia House, and reproductions of palaces and life of old Zanzibar, followed by the East African countries from Kenya to Uganda. India will erect a replica of the Taj Mahal. And among the many features will be the great mine where visitors can see that "root of all evil", gold, brought forth.

Africa is looking to an influx of visitors. And why not?

The Log Book

GIVING CREDIT where credit is due—to Cunard White Star for its novel Olympic arrangements . . . 20 different tours between July 2 and 23, using *Queen Mary*, *Berengaria*, *Aquitania*, *Georgic*, *Britannic*, and *Scythia*, and giving you choice of guide from seventeen famous football coaches: Fordham's Sleepy Jim Crowley, N. Y. U's Mal (Doc) Stevens, Detroit's Charles E. (Gus) Dorais, Vanderbilt's Ray Morrison, to mention a couple or so. Reserved seats are included in the cost of the tours, ranging from 27 to 59 days. . . To Travel Expert James Boring for his special World and Orient cruises scheduled for July 2 next. . . They're worth looking into. To the French railroads, French Line and Government for the

1936 Paris Trade Fair which opens May 16. . . First of such fairs, thirty years ago, drew 497 exhibitors . . . 1936 total, 8,259 from thirty-six European countries, including France.

To New Haven's Sam Boyer for starting a new vogue in railroad travel advertising. Watch for it soon—and chuckle yourself into traveling by train.

To Britain's T. R. Dester (Associated British Railways), who is putting English train travel well to the forefront in America.

* * *

And did you know that Dominica's national dish is "mountain chicken" . . . and that said "chicken" are giant land frogs! . . . and they're eaten whole—fried, broiled, boiled and so forth.

* * *

Well, it's Leap Year. **RAMBLER**

THE EDITOR'S MAIL

ABOUT ONCE in every fourteen minutes of an average day, an American citizen dies as the result of an automobile accident. The recently awakened public interest in accident causes, and preventions, is reflected in the hundreds of letters which have followed the publication of "Stop the Slaughter" and "Sudden Suicide" in the REVIEW, in the March and April numbers.

Restatement

To the Editor:

One statement is contained in the article on safety, published in the April issue of your magazine, which I believe is incorrect; "It's in the cities that a majority of accidents occur." In 1935 we estimate 11,800 motor vehicle fatalities in cities of 10,000 population or more, and 24,600 fatalities on country highways, or in towns under 10,000 population. As a matter of fact, the circumstances of pedestrian accidents differ greatly in cities and in rural areas.

One further point in connection with your article; comparisons are made between states on the basis of the number of deaths per 100,000 cars registered. We feel that such comparisons are more accurately based on gasoline consumption, indicating more nearly the number of miles, and the number of hours, cars are actually in operation.

W. H. CAMERON,
Managing Director, National Safety
Council, Chicago, Ill.

G-Limits, G-Roads

To the Editor:

Only Uncle Sam can stop the slaughter on our streets and highways. That, at any rate, is the settled conviction of a reporter who has covered about every kind of traffic accident imaginable. I don't mean to imply that I've actually seen any more mishaps, fatal or otherwise, than you have. As a matter of fact, the only serious accident to which I have been what the papers sometimes describe as an "eye-witness" was one I didn't bother to write up—by the time I was able to go back to work, the news was 16 months old.

In the execution of my daily assignments, however, I have covered hundreds of cases in which lives were snuffed out and severe injuries inflicted by automobiles. I've had unforgettable close-ups of most of the horrible details of which you have been reading so much lately; I've seen the results of both reckless and careful driving on busy city streets, crowded state highways, and lonely country roads, and this experience has convinced me that the only hope for solution of the increasingly perplexing traffic problem lies with the federal government.

The whole problem could be solved, it seems to me, by having the government regulate speed on a national basis. This could be accomplished by forcing automobile manufacturers to install governors on all machines sold in inter-

state commerce—which is to say, practically all cars—before they are permitted to leave the factory.

Nearly every traffic expert believes that another important factor in the accident problem is the antiquated condition of most of our highways. The modern car is a well-nigh perfect piece of machinery, but the thoroughfares on which it is obliged to do its traveling are, for the most part, only slightly modified forms of the old cowpath.

Here Uncle Sam enters the picture again. He is, as everyone knows, doling out billions of dollars for public works projects designed to put the nation's army of unemployed to work, pending its absorption by industry. Well, why couldn't he abandon some of the widely-criticized boondoggling activities in favor of lending the money to the states for construction of safe, up to date highways? This would not only provide work for the jobless, but would give much-needed aid to the states in carrying out their road-building programs; would bring about an appreciable reduction in accidents; and, at the same time, would help to stimulate recovery.

Many states have compulsory insurance laws, but few of those now on the books are strict enough. For instance, in Maryland the law requires motorists to take out public liability and property damage policies only after somebody with whom they have been involved in an accident has obtained a judgment against them. Obviously, such a requirement is as hopelessly inadequate as the oft-mentioned locking of the garage after the family sedan has been stolen.

Many of the most reckless drivers are irresponsible youths, barely able to pay for their snappy sport roadsters. Few of them would be able to buy an aspirin tablet for anyone so unfortunate as to attempt to dispute the right of way with them. And, under most of the existing state laws, they can't be made to carry insurance until it is too late.

This situation also could be remedied by Uncle Sam, by the simple expedient of requiring manufacturers to insure all machines before they leave the factory. The cost, of course, could be passed on to the dealers, who, in turn, would add it to their retail selling prices. Thus, many of our most dangerous motorists would be driven from the streets and highways, and, at the same time, all the others would be in a position to pay for any damage they might do, through wilful carelessness or otherwise.

PHILIP H. LOVE,
Brentwood, Md.

Bond-doggle

Deferred payments, which have been blamed for some of our ills, may yet help the Treasury finance re-employment:

To the Editor:

We are getting nowhere with this depression, and it is the opinion of all that the unemployment question must

be settled first; this is one question the Republican party so far has ignored. Men must be given work; the only quick way to do it is to widen our main roads, eliminate ditches, widen the secondary roads. Get the money to start it by a big Liberty Loan Drive, with \$50. bonds only; \$1.00 down, \$1.00 a week, through the post offices. The bonds when purchased could be used like \$50. bills. Let's make the future of our nation rest on five words: "Give every man a job."

ALAN H. TRIPP,
President, the Association for the Relief of High Water, Oshkosh, Wis.

Best Laid Plans

Dr. Townsend and his plan still hold the attention of many correspondents:

To the Editor:

I believe the Townsend Plan the most crack-brained and heartless proposal ever put before the American people. It appeals to the cupidity of failures at the expense of our best citizens. Why should the real workers become slaves, merely to support super-annuated misfits in luxury?

HERBERT J. MANCINI,
East Cleveland, Ohio.

To the Editor:

Although a dyed-in-the-wool Republican, I must give credit to Donald Richberg for the best explanation of the Townsend dream that I have ever seen. "Cruelly unjust and utterly impractical" it certainly is when we read its purpose, which is to take away from every working American one-third of his income to support hordes in idleness. To tax both rich and poor alike is unjust; it is impractical because men and women will not starve their children and themselves in order to maintain elderly strangers in affluence. Americans are by instinct self-supporting. They want not a dole, but the honest pride of useful work.

ELIZABETH NEVITT STEELE,
Chicago, Ill.

To the Editor:

If you had ever taken time to step out of your narrow rut, you would realize first of all that this humanitarian Plan is designed to really honor your own father and mother, and all others of our elders, and then too to do the greatest good to the greatest number.

When you try to explain the transaction tax it is pitiful. Consider the great savings by the elimination of poor houses and their upkeep; insane asylums, (now all being doubled in size); cut one-third off the excessive cost of crime, and stop it at its source through abolishment of poverty. Commodities would carry the least of the load. This of course is all too complex for you to understand. The great Townsend Tide sweeps on—an average of 1,000 new members daily. You are going to have the Townsend Plan whether you wish it or not.

GEORGE H. HOLMES,
Portland, Ore.

For the Faster Accumulation of FACTS follow the punched card method

SALES ANALYSIS																								
KIND	CODE	PRODUCT			MARKET	CITY	CUSTOMER	SALESMAN	DATE	FOLIO	QUANTITY	AMOUNT	COST	TRANS-PORTATION	DISCOUNT	TAX	TOTAL							
		CLASS	KIND	SIZE																				
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0							
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1							
2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2							
3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3							
4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4							
5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5							
6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6							
7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7							
8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8							
9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9							

SALES BY BRANCH BY SALESMAN AND PRODUCT									
BRANCH	SALESMAN	PRODUCT		QUANTITY	AMOUNT	DATE	TOTAL SALES BY SALESMAN	TOTAL SALE BY BRANCH	
		Class	Kind						
1	10	21	1760	4568	508675	7-15-1936			
1	10	21	1823	762	125300				
1	10	64	2201	9101	847650				
1	11	21	1181	282					
1	11	23	2644	7650					
1	11	84	2202	4593	14070				
1	12	11	7480		664925				
1	12	67	2920		558700				

You can keep well ahead of present-day demands for detailed, current facts with punched card accounting. You can obtain intricate rate studies and analyses. You can know the cost of sales by territory and product and watch the very pulse of production through the medium of punched cards.

Investigate this modern accounting method. You may be surprised at its simplicity! You will doubtless be gratified at the speed, accuracy and economy which it brings.

Today International Business Machines and methods are helping solve the problems of business and government in seventy-nine different countries. Your nearest IBM branch office will be pleased to give you detailed information. Stop in today. No obligation.



A—Business FACTS from source records are registered in tabulating cards in the form of punched holes.

B—After being automatically sorted, the punched cards are placed in the Accounting Machine which produces complete printed reports.

C—The accuracy and speed of this modern machine accounting method offer the executive a means of constant control.

INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS MACHINES CORPORATION

GENERAL OFFICES:
270 BROADWAY, NEW YORK, N. Y.



BRANCH OFFICES IN
PRINCIPAL CITIES OF THE WORLD